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Egyptian foreign policy
(special reference after The 25th of January Revolution)

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(Special Reference after The 25th of January Revolution)

**POLÍTICA EXTERIOR EGIPCIA (ESPECIAL REFERENCIA DESPUÉS DE LA
REVOLUCIÓN DEL 25 DE ENERO)**

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DEDICATION

Dedication

*To my dearest parents may god rest their souls in peace
and to my only family my sister whom without her support and
love I would not have conducted this piece of work*

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List of Abbreviations

ABMT	Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
AOU	Organization of African Unity
ASU	Arab Socialist Union
AU	African Union
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System surveillance planes
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
COMESA	Common Market For East And South Africa
EU	European Union
FJP	Freedom and Justice Party
FSB	Russian Federal Security Service
FTA	Free Trade Area
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GERD	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
GFETU	General Federation of Egyptian Trade Unions
GIS	General Intelligence Service
ISIS	Islamic state in Iraq and Syria
LAS	League Of Arab States
MEDO	Middle East Defence Organization
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDP	National Democratic Party

OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PMP	Pivotal Middle Power
QIZ	Qualified Industrial Zones
RSCT	Regional Security Complex Theory
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitations Talks
SAMs	Surface-To-Air Missiles
SCAF	Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
UAR	United Arab Republic
UFM	Union for the Mediterranean
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WTO	World Trade Organization

ABSTRACT

ABSTRACT

The main goal of this research is to analyze how Egypt defined its national interest during the course of its modern history, since the termination of the monarchy in the country in the year 1952. As well it identify how it used its foreign policy as a pivotal middle power in the middle east region to promote this interest throughout these years with a special focus on the foreign policy after two consecutive revolutions in the 25th of January 2011 and 30th of June 2013, until this recent moment.

The objective of this research is achieved through the conduction of a comprehensive and detailed assessment for the Egyptian foreign policy over the past six decades. It will examine external relations of the country since the founding of the first republic, until the establishment of the third republic under the current president Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, the second elected president in a row, which succeeded in ending the Muslim brotherhood regime in the country.

This research will particularly focus on the changes that took place in the Egyptian foreign policy in the aftermath of the Arab spring uprisings that erupted in the Middle East region in the year 2011. The Egyptian revolution that toppled the 30 years old Mubarak regime, aspired at accomplishing the principles of freedom, dignity and social justice within the Egyptian society. The demands of this revolt have concentrated on achieving internal reforms essentially; it did not mention foreign policy in relation to the demands of the protest groups.

The Egyptian revolution of 2011 has embraced its own characteristics as its pacific and peaceful nature, despite all the attempts of the ruling systems for branding rebellions with violence. However, the most important feature of this uprising is that the young people and the middle class represented its basic fuel for its outbreak, in contrast to many expectations and mental images for these two categories, as it was

believed that poor classes would have mobilized this revolution. This belief came to many people as they thought that the young people in Egypt are unable to induce any kind of change in the country. On the other hand, the technology and communications revolution played a key role in the process of mobilization and preparation for revolutions not only in Egypt but also in the various Arab countries.

The Arab spring revolutions had influenced the domestic and the foreign policy dynamics not only in Egypt but also in the whole Middle East region. In the case of Egypt, the most important variable that resulted from this revolt is the effect that the public opinion created on the country's foreign policy engagements for the first time in the modern history of Egypt. In addition, it emphasized the strong bond or connection between the internal and external policies of the country. On the other hand, the 2011 revolution exposed the accumulating problems that led to the deterioration of the country's status both domestically and externally.

The other crucial variable that resulted from the Arab spring revolutions not only in Egypt but also in all the states that have been hit by this wave of protests is the arrival of the political Islam groups to power in those countries with different formularies. As for the case of Egypt, it is worth to mention that the Muslim Brotherhood group which, is considered as the origin of the notion of political Islam in the Middle East and Arab region, came to power in 2012. Thus, President Mohamed Morsi was the first democratically and freely elected president in the history of the country.

Certainly, it was expected that the Muslim Brotherhood regime would embark on pursuing a foreign policy that would match with their own ideological orientations and beliefs. However, this regime could not do so in the anticipated formula, as it was faced by the special nature of the Egypt that imposes certain approach on any regime in its foreign policy conduction throughout the history. In other words, determinates as history, geography and demography of Egypt have always played a strong

role in the defining its external movements in such a way that would achieve the national interest of the country, away from any creeds.

In this framework, the research will tackle the majority of the Egyptian foreign policy occurrences and decisions as well the circles of relations that shaped this policy throughout the five regimes, which ruled the country since 1952, since the establishment of the first republic in the country. It will investigate how the different regimes extended their actions and deeds in relation to the foreign policy to work for the national interest of the country from their point of views or sometimes to serve the reinforcement of their regimes. Furthermore, the research will have a special focus on the one-year rule of the Muslim Brotherhood during which they tried to impose their ideas and principles on the Egyptian society a matter that was completely rejected by the people who took the streets again in 2013 to topple their regime. This popular revolution managed to overthrow president Morsi and paved the way towards the establishment of the third republic in the country.

Through a simple comparison of both revolutions of 2011 and 2013 consecutively, it could be noted that the foreign policy was also not on the top priorities of the latter, as the domestic demands were fundamental for this uprising. Moreover, the two revolts are characterized by their non-exporting character or quality, in other words the Egyptian revolutions in general never tried to spread its notions outside its borders. Yet, the Arab spring itself had a sort of domino effect that struck most of the neighboring countries, but with different degrees.

The research will also deal with the Egyptian foreign policy under the current Egyptian regime of President Abdel- Fattah Al-Sisi who came into power after the popular revolution 30th June, 2013 that ended the Islamic rule in the country. Since the inauguration of the third republic after being elected in 2014, the current president started to undergo a number of adjustments on both levels, domestically and externally to recover the country's image in front of the whole world. The current

Egyptian regime in same time aimed at recovering Egypt's external relations with all the countries of the world, especially with those of interest of Egypt, in a trial to correct the serious mistakes that have been committed during the brotherhood regime, where they strengthened their ties with the states and groups that match with their political identity.

The analysis of the foreign policy of the Muslim Brotherhood reveals that it was not proficient enough to take the lead in a key country like Egypt. This lack of competence and experience might be attributed to the fact that they were a group that has been working secretly and banned for long periods of time under the consecutive regimes since their establishment in the year 1928. The Muslim Brotherhood regime tried to extend relations with the circles of interest and allies for Egypt namely the Gulf States and Russia. However, they failed to secure ties with them owing to the divergence in the main beliefs and values between both sides, as they are contemplated as the origin of all the terrorist groups that emerged during the last three decades.

This investigation in a part of it will tackle the effect or implications of the fall of the Muslim Brotherhood regime in Egypt on its own future on the domestic level. As well it will embark upon the prospect of the notion of political Islam in general and of the Islamic political forces in the region after the collapse of the group in Egypt.

Resumen

El objetivo principal de esta investigación es analizar cómo Egipto definió su interés nacional durante el curso de su historia moderna, desde la terminación de la monarquía en el país en el año 1952. También identifica cómo utilizó su política exterior como una potencia central en la región del Medio Oriente para promover este interés a lo largo de estos años con un enfoque especial en la política exterior después de dos revoluciones consecutivas en el 25 de enero de 2011 y el 30 de junio de 2013, hasta este momento reciente.

El objetivo de esta investigación se logra a través de la realización de una evaluación completa y detallada de la política exterior egipcia durante las últimas seis décadas. Examinará las relaciones exteriores del país desde la fundación de la primera república, hasta el establecimiento de la tercera república bajo el actual presidente Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, el segundo presidente electo consecutivo, que logró poner fin al régimen de Hermandad Musulmana en el país.

Esta investigación se centrará en particular en los cambios que tuvieron lugar en la política exterior egipcia a raíz de los levantamientos de la Primavera Árabe que estallaron en la región de Oriente Medio en el año 2011. La revolución egipcia que derrocó al régimen de Mubarak de 30 años, aspiró a cumplir los principios de libertad, dignidad y justicia social dentro de la sociedad egipcia. Las demandas de esta revuelta se han concentrado en lograr esencialmente reformas internas; No mencionó la política exterior en relación con las demandas de los grupos de protesta.

La revolución egipcia de 2011 ha abrazado sus propias características como su pacífica y la naturaleza pacífica, a pesar de todos los intentos de los sistemas de gobierno para marcar las rebeliones con violencia. Sin embargo, la

característica más importante de este levantamiento es que los jóvenes y la clase media representaron su combustible básico para su brote, en contraste con muchas expectativas e imágenes mentales para estas dos categorías, ya que se creía que las clases pobres habrían movilizadado esta revolución. Esta creencia llegó a muchas personas, ya que pensaban que los jóvenes en Egipto son incapaces de inducir cualquier tipo de cambio en el país. Por otro lado, la revolución de la tecnología y las comunicaciones tuvo un papel clave en el proceso de movilización y preparación de las revoluciones, no sólo en Egipto, sino también en los diversos países árabes.

Las revoluciones de Primavera Árabe han influido en la dinámica doméstica y de la política exterior no sólo en Egipto, sino también en toda la región del Oriente Medio. En el caso de Egipto, la variable más importante que resultó de esta revuelta es el efecto que la opinión pública creó sobre los compromisos de política exterior del país por primera vez en la historia moderna de Egipto. Además, hizo hincapié en el fuerte vínculo o conexión entre las políticas interna y externa del país. Por otro lado, la revolución de 2011 puso de manifiesto los problemas acumulados que condujeron al deterioro de la situación del país tanto a nivel nacional como externo.

La otra variable crucial que resultó de las revoluciones Primavera Árabe no sólo en Egipto, sino también en todos los estados que han sido golpeados por esta ola de protestas es la llegada de los grupos políticos islámicos al poder en los países con diferentes formularios. En cuanto al caso de Egipto, vale la pena mencionar que el grupo de la Hermandad Musulmana, que es considerado como el origen de la noción de Islam político en Oriente Medio y la región árabe, llegó al poder en 2012. Así, el presidente MOHAMED MORSI fue El primer presidente elegido democráticamente y libremente en la historia del país.

Ciertamente, se esperaba que el régimen de Hermandad Musulmana se embarcaría en la consecución de una política exterior que coincidiera con sus propias orientaciones y creencias ideológicas. Sin embargo, este régimen no podría hacerlo en la fórmula anticipada, ya que se enfrentó a la naturaleza especial de Egipto que impone cierta aproximación a cualquier régimen en su conducción de la política exterior a lo largo de la historia. En otras palabras, los determinantes como la historia, la geografía y la demografía de Egipto siempre han desempeñado un papel importante en la definición de sus movimientos externos de tal manera que lograría el interés nacional del país, lejos de cualquier credo.

En este marco, la investigación abordará la mayoría de los sucesos y decisiones de la política exterior egipcia, así como los círculos de relaciones que conformaron esta política a lo largo de los cinco regímenes que gobernaron el país desde 1952 desde la creación de la primera república en el país. Investiga cómo los diferentes regímenes extendieron sus acciones y acciones en relación con la política exterior para trabajar por el interés nacional del país desde su punto de vista o, a veces, para reforzar sus regímenes. Además, la investigación se centrará especialmente en la regla del año de la Hermandad Musulmana durante lo cual trataron de imponer sus ideas y principios a la sociedad egipcia, un asunto que fue completamente rechazado por las personas que volvieron a tomar las calles en 2013 para Derribar su régimen. Esta revolución popular logró derrocar al presidente Morsi y allanó el camino hacia el establecimiento de la tercera república en el país.

A través de una simple comparación de las dos revoluciones de 2011 y 2013 consecutivamente, cabe señalar que la política exterior tampoco estuvo en las prioridades de este último, ya que las demandas internas fueron fundamentales para este levantamiento. Por otra parte, las dos revueltas se caracterizan por su carácter no exportador o calidad, es decir las revoluciones egipcias en general

nunca trataron de difundir sus nociones fuera de sus fronteras. Sin embargo, la Primavera Árabe en sí tenía una especie de efecto dominó que golpeó a la mayoría de los países vecinos, pero con diferentes grados.

La investigación también tratará de la política exterior egipcia bajo el actual régimen egipcio del presidente Abdel-Fattah Al-Sisi que llegó al poder después de la revolución popular el 30 de junio de 2013 que puso fin al gobierno islámico en el país. Desde la inauguración de la tercera república después de ser elegido en 2014, el actual presidente comenzó a experimentar una serie de ajustes en ambos niveles, tanto interna como externamente para recuperar la imagen del país frente al mundo entero. El actual régimen egipcio en el mismo tiempo tenía como objetivo recuperar las relaciones exteriores de Egipto con todos los países del mundo, especialmente con los de interés de Egipto, en un juicio para corregir los graves errores cometidos durante el régimen de Hermandad Musulmana, Relaciones con los estados y grupos que coinciden con su identidad política.

El análisis de la política exterior de la Hermandad Musulmana revela que no era lo suficientemente proficiente como para tomar la iniciativa en un país clave como Egipto. Esta falta de competencia y experiencia podría atribuirse al hecho de que eran un grupo que ha estado trabajando en secreto y prohibido durante largos períodos de tiempo bajo los regímenes consecutivos desde su establecimiento en el año 1928. El régimen de la Hermandad Musulmana trató de extender las relaciones con Los círculos de interés y aliados para Egipto, es decir, los Estados del Golfo y Rusia. Sin embargo, no lograron establecer vínculos con ellos debido a la divergencia de las principales creencias y valores entre ambas partes, ya que se contempla como el origen de todos los grupos terroristas que surgieron durante las últimas tres décadas.

Esta investigación en una parte de ella abordará el efecto o las implicaciones de la caída del régimen de la Hermandad Musulmana en Egipto sobre su propio futuro en el ámbito doméstico. También se embarcará en la perspectiva de la noción del Islam político en general y de las fuerzas políticas islámicas en la región después del colapso del grupo en Egipto.

Objetivos del estudio:

Objetivo principal:

El objetivo principal de esta investigación es evaluar la política exterior egipcia y su papel en la región del Oriente Medio durante las últimas seis décadas, hasta el actual régimen, con especial referencia a las transformaciones de la política exterior tras la revolución árabe de primavera de 2011.

Objetivos instrumentales:

- Analizar el papel de Egipto como un poder central en la región de Oriente Medio.
- Examinar el comportamiento de los países revolucionarios en general con una mención especial al caso egipcio.
- Evaluar los determinantes de la política exterior egipcia, así como las tendencias de esta política a lo largo de los diferentes regímenes desde la época de Nasser pasando por la de Sadat hasta Mubarak.
- Determinar los factores internos y externos que condujeron a la erupción de la revolución egipcia después de 30 años del régimen de Mubarak.
- Estudiar las transformaciones y desafíos que enfrenta la seguridad nacional egipcia antes y después de la Primavera Árabe.

- Investigar la reforma de la política exterior bajo el régimen de la Hermandad Musulmana que entró en el poder por primera vez en la historia del país, así como sus orígenes y su papel en la escena política egipcia desde su creación en el año 1928.

- Explorar las principales razones del estallido de la revolución del 30 de junio de 2013 que puso fin al gobierno de la Hermandad Musulmana en Egipto, así como de la política exterior del actual régimen egipcio y sus esfuerzos para recurrir al papel del país en la región.

- Hipótesis:

- Para el desarrollo de esta tesis, se han iniciado una serie de supuestos. Estas suposiciones se aplicarán a lo largo del curso de la investigación, de tal manera que se refutan o afirman de la siguiente manera:

- Egipto es un poder central en la región del Oriente Medio que siempre ha estado en el liderazgo de la región, a pesar de los reveses que han enfrentado al país durante muchas fases de su historia. Estos factores como la geopolítica, la historia, el poder militar y demográfico, así como su poder blando son los activos del Estado egipcio que influyeron en la forma en que los sucesivos regímenes han conducido la política exterior, para servir a los intereses nacionales del país. Asimismo, y debido a su peso en la región, se podía observar fácilmente que cualquier cambio o transformación que afectara a Egipto afectaría a todos los estados vecinos de la región.

- Los determinantes mencionados anteriormente, así como los desafíos que enfrenta el Estado egipcio, especialmente en los últimos años, habían impuesto cierto desempeño o conducta a cualquier régimen gobernante independientemente de la ideología o las creencias del régimen. Por ejemplo, el

grupo de la Hermandad Musulmana cuando llegaron al poder en el país en 2012, por primera vez en su historia, trataron de implementar su propia política exterior según su dogma. Sin embargo, no pudieron hacerlo y el presidente MORSI se vio obligado a llevar a cabo una política exterior que sirva para resolver los problemas del país en ese período de tiempo.

- El fracaso de la experiencia de la Hermandad Musulmana en Egipto, podría representar un gran desafío para todos los grupos del Islam político en toda la región del Oriente Medio que están afiliados al grupo principal en El Cairo. En otras palabras, lo que sucedió en Egipto tendrá un impacto negativo en el futuro de la noción de Islam político, no sólo en Egipto sino también en Oriente Medio y la región árabe.

- La política exterior es un mero reflejo de la política interna y de las situaciones internas. En este marco, cabe señalar que la revolución de enero de 2011 fue una consecuencia directa o resultado de los problemas internos del régimen de Mubarak, a saber, el debate sobre la herencia de la presidencia a su hijo menor Gamal, que entró en la escena política en el Como parte del Partido Democrático Nacional (PND). Además de muchos otros desafíos como la grave situación económica y las altas tasas de desempleo, así como el estancamiento de la vida política en el país.

- A lo largo de la historia se podría argumentar fácilmente que la política o las relaciones exteriores egipcias siempre girarán en torno a cuestiones o círculos centrales, que se consideran la columna vertebral de las políticas exteriores egipcias, particularmente en este período actual. Por ejemplo, las conexiones con los países de la cuenca del Nilo para asegurar su cuota de agua, y la causa palestina que se considera como el pilar principal para la seguridad nacional egipcia.

- La restauración del papel de liderazgo en la región requerirá que se emprenda principalmente reformas internas a todos los niveles, política, social y económicamente, para sacar al país de sus problemas. Esta vía fue iniciada por el régimen actual bajo Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi que inició una serie de reestructuraciones en el país, para lograr este objetivo.

- Estructura de la tesis doctoral:

- Capítulo 1: la tesis propone comenzar con un marco teórico global enfocado en los factores principales y constantes que tienen un efecto determinante en la conformación de la política exterior en el Oriente Medio teniendo en cuenta la geografía, la seguridad, el entorno ideológico y Las consideraciones económicas y sociales.

- Además, este capítulo incluirá la evaluación del comportamiento de los estados revolucionarios y las etapas de las revoluciones, así como la política exterior egipcia posrevolucionaria. Además, este análisis abarcó arrojar luz sobre el papel de Egipto en la región como un poder central, a través de un examen en profundidad y un estudio de la naturaleza de las potencias tanto centrales como medias.

- Capítulo 2: este capítulo implica un examen de la política exterior del presidente Gamal Abdel Nasser, que tomó el poder en 1954, después de la revolución del 23 de julio de 1952 que puso fin a la monarquía en Egipto y allanó el camino hacia el establecimiento de El primer sistema republicano en la historia del país. Además, este capítulo abarcará una evaluación de las incidencias y políticas clave del ex presidente, así como los círculos de política exterior. Esto incluirá, por ejemplo, estudiar la política del nacionalismo panárabe, la política de no alineación, así como los acontecimientos que representaron importantes puntos de inflexión en la historia del país y la región del Oriente Medio y tal vez el

mundo como la crisis de Suez, Y la guerra de desgaste. Es más, este capítulo arrojará luz sobre las relaciones del régimen de Nasser con las superpotencias en esa época los Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética, así como con el continente africano.

- Capítulo 3: En este capítulo se investiga tanto la política interna como la política exterior del presidente Anwar Al-Sadat, que llegó al poder después de la muerte de Nasser en septiembre de 1970, en un momento muy difícil de la historia de Egipto, después de la ocupación de la Península del Sinaí por Israel durante la guerra de 1967. El capítulo abordará las medidas que ha tomado el régimen de Sadat a nivel nacional para consolidar su régimen, así como sus relaciones exteriores que utilizó para prepararse para la guerra de octubre de 1973 a través de la cual Egipto recuperó sus territorios ocupados. El capítulo abordará también el efecto más importante de la guerra mencionada, es decir, la conclusión de los acuerdos de Camp David, que allanaron el camino hacia el acuerdo bilateral de paz entre El Cairo y Tel Aviv y, consecuentemente, un nuevo episodio en la historia de Egipto. El capítulo también discutirá las consecuencias o los impactos de la reconciliación con Israel sobre la política exterior egipcia con el aislamiento del país de su medio árabe durante casi una década y una reorientación de la política exterior del país desde el este hacia el oeste.

- Capítulo 4: este capítulo investigará la política exterior bajo el Presidente Mubarak que tomó el poder en 1981 después del asesinato de Sadat por los grupos islamistas. En este marco, examinará los pasos que Mubarak tomó para regresar al mundo árabe y recuperar su liderazgo en la región. En este sentido, el capítulo profundizará en eventos importantes como la participación egipcia en la guerra del Golfo de 1991 y la contribución activa a la solución del conflicto árabe-palestino. Además, el capítulo se ocupará de los círculos de la política exterior egipcia que se centraron en recuperar el equilibrio en las relaciones con todas las

potencias del mundo, con especial atención a las relaciones con los Estados Unidos y la Unión Europea, que florecieron durante su era.

- Capítulo 5: este capítulo explorará los orígenes de la revolución de enero de 2011, con una referencia especial a los cambios internos que tuvieron lugar durante la última década del gobierno de Mubarak que podrían considerarse como las causas directas de la erupción de tal levantamiento. Además, el capítulo investigará el desarrollo de los movimientos sociales y políticos en Egipto desde 1952, que desempeñó un papel fundamental en la movilización de las fuerzas revolucionarias en la revolución de enero. Además, investigará las relaciones exteriores de Egipto durante el período de transición posterior a la revolución del 25 de enero, así como las reacciones internacionales hacia el levantamiento y la dimensión de la política exterior en la revolución del 25 de enero. Asimismo, abordará los desafíos que enfrentan Egipto y la región de Oriente Medio antes y después de la ola de primavera árabe.

- Capítulo 6: este capítulo estudiará los orígenes del grupo de la Hermandad Musulmana y su historia de establecimiento. Además, discutirá las relaciones exteriores de Egipto desde la elección del presidente Morsi en junio de 2012, y las disposiciones para las elecciones presidenciales y el establecimiento del brazo político del grupo de la Hermandad Musulmana, el Partido de la Libertad y la Justicia (P L J). Además, examinará el impacto relativo de las presiones económicas, internacionales y políticas sobre la política exterior del gobierno egipcio y determinará si la orientación islamista de este gobierno ha causado cambios significativos en la conducción de la política exterior egipcia. Destacará los cambios en la política exterior egipcia. Esta sección dedica especial atención a la postura del gobierno de Morsi sobre el tratado de paz egipcio-israelí, las relaciones con los estados del Consejo de Cooperación del Golfo (CCG) y los vínculos con el otro poder regional como Irán y Turquía, así como las relaciones

con las superpotencias, a saber, Estados Unidos y Rusia . Finalmente, investigará los impactos de la caída de la Hermandad Musulmana en sus propias perspectivas y el efecto del descenso del grupo de la Hermandad Musulmana sobre el futuro de las fuerzas políticas del Islam en la región del Medio Oriente.

- Capítulo 7: este capítulo se concentrará en los esfuerzos de Egipto para restablecer su papel vital en la región, como un acto de equilibrio entre sus obligaciones domésticas e internacionales durante el período bajo el régimen del actual presidente Al-Sisi que asumió el poder en 2014 después La revolución popular del 30 de junio de 2013. Explorará el impacto de las presiones internas, internacionales, políticas y económicas sobre la ejecución de las iniciativas de política exterior de Egipto.

A raíz de un examen preciso de la política exterior egipcia en el transcurso de su historia moderna desde el establecimiento de la primera república con especial atención a esta política exterior después de dos oleadas revolucionarias consecutivas. Podría afirmarse, debido a los supuestos de la investigación, que Egipto siempre ha sido un poder central en la región de Oriente Medio, independientemente de los aislamientos y las guerras que han enfrentado al país a lo largo de su historia.

A pesar de estos contratiempos, ningún otro estado, ni en el mundo árabe ni en toda la región del Medio Oriente, ha podido tomar la iniciativa de la región u ocupar el lugar de Egipto como líder de la región. A este respecto, cabe señalar que desde la conclusión del tratado de paz con Israel en marzo de 1979, y tal vez antes de esta incidencia durante los años cincuenta y sesenta. Egipto comenzó a ser desafiado por muchos rivales de sus países vecinos que trataron de reemplazar su papel en la región, o convertirse en grandes potencias regionales como Arabia

Saudita, Siria, Irak, Qatar y Turquía, así como Irán. Sin embargo, todos estos intentos fueron considerados al final de fiasco y decepción incluso si algunos países lograron desempeñar este papel por un tiempo o temporalmente, pero hasta ahora, ningún otro país fue capaz de reemplazar el papel egipcio de forma permanente.

Por otra parte, también podría afirmarse de acuerdo con las suposiciones de este estudio y después de una evaluación en profundidad que cualquier cambio o transformación que afectó a Egipto definitivamente afectaría a todos los estados vecinos de la región de una manera u otra. Debido a esto, la mayoría de los regímenes árabes, especialmente en la región del Golfo, están preocupados por las alteraciones que han tenido lugar en el país durante los últimos años desde la ola de Primavera Árabe hasta este momento. Estos sistemas monárquicos estaban inquietos, ya que creían que su seguridad nacional se pondría en peligro si la agitación e inestabilidad en Egipto se prolongaba. Egipto es considerado la primera línea de defensa de la seguridad nacional del Golfo, su santuario es parte indivisible de la seguridad nacional egipcia. Además, estas monarquías árabes estaban preocupadas de que la ola de transformaciones que azotaran a los países vecinos y encima de ellos El Cairo causaría perjuicio a sus regímenes gobernantes.

Por estas razones, se podía discernir claramente que los países árabes del Golfo eran reacios a apoyar la revolución de Enero de 2011; También se sintieron incomodados con la llegada del régimen de la Hermandad Musulmana al poder en El Cairo durante las elecciones presidenciales de 2012. Por lo tanto, estas capitales árabes estaban renuentes a conceder cualquier tipo de ayuda al régimen islámico, y cuando la revolución popular 2013 que derrocó este régimen, por lo que las monarquías árabes estaban entre los principales partidarios del nuevo gobierno egipcio.

Por otro lado, se asumirá otra hipótesis tras este análisis claro de la política exterior egipcia, que es la fuerte relación entre la política exterior y la política interna. En la actualidad, las relaciones exteriores se llevan a cabo como una diplomacia de doble filo. En otras palabras, los acontecimientos internos afectan a los asuntos exteriores y viceversa. Las cuestiones internas son tan importantes para el comportamiento de la central de poder central que puede definir el alcance de, o limitar, su enfoque a cualquier cuestión clave en su región. La estabilidad doméstica de un poder central puede ser tan influyente como su poder económico y militar en sus políticas, proyección y papel de liderazgo en sus regiones.

En consecuencia, se pudo observar a través de esta investigación que el papel principal de Egipto en la región ha estado fluctuando durante los últimos sesenta años, de acuerdo con su poder económico, militar y blando, entre otros factores. Por ejemplo, durante la era de NASSER, Egipto tenía gran y mayor influencia en el nivel de la política exterior no sólo en el mundo árabe sino en el ámbito internacional en comparación con los períodos sucesivos de SADAT y Mubarak. Este asunto puede atribuirse a muchos elementos como el aumento de los problemas internos en los niveles económico y social, así como la falta de apoyo popular a algunas decisiones de política exterior.

Desde esta perspectiva, el posrevolucionario Egipto deberá incluir y asegurar la participación pública en el establecimiento de un nuevo discurso de política exterior. Esto es crucial para una visión nueva y coherente, simplemente porque en las últimas décadas ha habido una fuerte división entre la élite gobernante y las calles árabes en la comprensión y el acercamiento a los principales temas de política exterior en Oriente Medio.

Una vez más, se ha afirmado otra importante suposición en este estudio, es que los determinantes, así como los desafíos que han enfrentado el Estado egipcio

especialmente en los últimos años, habían impuesto cierto desempeño o conducta a cualquier régimen gobernante a pesar de la ideología o Creencias del régimen. Por ejemplo, cuando llegaron al poder en Egipto en 2012, por primera vez en su historia, el grupo de la Hermandad Musulmana trató de poner en práctica su propia política exterior según sus ideologías y creencias.

Sin embargo, no pudieron hacerlo y el Presidente Morsi se vio obligado a llevar a cabo una política exterior que sirviera para resolver los problemas apremiantes del país en ese período, especialmente los económicos. Por esta razón, el régimen islámico comenzó a acercarse a los Estados árabes del Golfo ya potencias internacionales como el poder como Rusia, independientemente de las diferencias de dogmas e ideas entre los regímenes gobernantes de ambas partes, en un intento de obtener ayuda financiera y militar para consolidar su Y la situación interna. Además, a pesar de estas disimilitudes, el régimen de la Hermandad Musulmana se dio cuenta de que perseguir una política exterior que concuerde con su filosofía no sería factible en un país clave como Egipto.

La suposición final que también se afirmará implica el restablecimiento del papel de liderazgo de Egipto en la región, asunto que requerirá el embarcarse principalmente en reformas internas a todos los niveles políticos, social y económicamente para sacar al país de sus problemas. Esta vía había sido iniciada por el actual régimen que inició una serie de grandes reestructuraciones y megaproyectos en el país, para lograr este objetivo.

Además, vale la pena mencionar que el desafío más importante que realmente podría ocupar el Estado egipcio en el momento presente es tratar de construir una nueva democracia; Un país económicamente próspero, una forma de sacar al país de su crisis económica y apoyar su estabilidad interna. En este sentido, el Estado egipcio puede maximizar sus beneficios de sus enormes recursos como la

ubicación sin precedentes en el corazón del mundo, el enorme poder demográfico y militar en la región y por encima del poder blando con su modelo cultural que siempre ha influido en todo el Mundo árabe. Estos recursos, si se usan correctamente, Egipto podría ser un verdadero poder capaz de enfrentar los desafíos regionales.

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

For several centuries, Egypt has been a focal station and spot in not only the Middle East region, but also it also served as a bridge between the Arab world and Europe as well as with Asia and Africa. Its geographical location amid two seas and continents as well as its dependence on the Nile River has governed and influenced its connections with its neighboring countries. During the course of history, Egypt has played an important and influential role in the region.

Among the *raison d'être* for such significant task or responsibility is the fact that Egypt has enjoyed both a comparatively homogenous population as well as a strong and longstanding experience of statehood. Its capacity to grasp other cultural influence while in the same time maintaining its specific character have led Cairo to benefit from specific awareness of both national identity and of national interest in addition to the understanding of wider cultural, religious and political contexts. What's more, the institutional stability and geostrategic importance have evidently affected Egypt's relations.

The eminence of Egypt's role was predominantly highlighted in the last century, specifically in the post-independence epoch until the late seventies that coincide with end of Nasser's era. Under the latter's presidency Cairo had a pivotal role not only in the Middle East but also in Africa and Asia. Egypt took the lead in the nonaligned movement, as it supported the liberation movements in occupied Arab and African states; as well, it championed the Palestinian – Israeli conflict.

Likewise, Egypt was instrumental in promulgating the ideology of pan-Arabism in the Middle East region that influenced not only the country's foreign policy but also the foreign policy of other Arab nations. Egypt's defeat in the Arab-Israeli war in 1967 that led to the loss of Egyptian and Arab territories, represented a turning point in its role as a regional leader, and a player in the international arena. This defeat

negatively affected the status of Egypt in the Arab world, as it was a real surprise that shaken the confidence in Nasser's ideas and notions.

In the aftermath of the 1973 war that Sadat launched against Israel to get back its lost territory, the United States took the initiative to patron a peace agreement between Cairo and Tel-Aviv. The conclusion of the camp David agreement which was deemed by the majority of Arab states as a separate and unilateral peace with Israel denoted the commencement of an era of isolation of Egypt from its Arab arena, a matter that placed a great deal of constraints on its foreign policy. Even though the rupture between Cairo and its Arab nations did not take such long time to be repaired, yet its role and weight in the region had been heavily affected.

In other word, Geopolitics has always played a key role in shaping the foreign policy of Egypt, since it inhabits such a strategic position as a land bridge between both the African and Asian continents, as well as, a link between two principal waterways, the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean via the Red sea and the Suez Canal. Similarly, its security is connected to the control of the Nile River, on whose waters its survival depends. Therefore, it has tried to maintain its historical ties with Sudan and has sought agreeable relations with the Nile basin countries. Throughout its history, Egypt had struggled to secure the land bridge to Asia, which has always been route of potential conquerors. Egyptian rulers have conventionally tried to project their power into Syria and peninsula of Arabia, they were often in rivalry with other powers in – Anatolia- Turkey nowadays, or the Euphrates River valley -nowadays Iraq. Yet, in the present, Israel, located on Egypt's border is perceived as a threat to Egyptian security.

Likewise, Egypt has always been considered as a politically strategic state. For instance, during Nasser's era Egypt was potentially at the center of three "circles," the Arab the Islamic and the Africa. Egypt viewed itself as a major player in Africa and, beyond that, was long a

prominent mover and shaker in the wider Third World camp and a key promoter of nonalignment and neutralism. This geopolitical weight and import made it an object of interest to the world powers, and when Egypt was strong enough. This matter allowed Egypt since Nasser, to play the great powers against each other and earn political support as well as economic and military assistance from all parts. Even the Egypt of Mubarak was able to take advantage of its strategic importance in to mediate in issues as the Arab Israeli conflict and to be as a safeguard against Islamic political activism thus gaining political support and economic aid from both the West and the Arab world.

Moreover, a second constant that modeled the Egyptian foreign policy was its Arab-Islamic character. Without a doubt, Egypt had an extended pre-Islamic heritage that gave it a distinctive identity, yet in periods as the British occupation it was able to develop apart from the Arab world, Egypt's national identity was never merged in the identical Arabism. In other words, Egyptians were shaped by their own distinct geography, history, dialect, and customs, but then again the content of their identity is undeniably Arab-Islamic.

Egypt is indivisibly a part of the Arab world, as it considered as the largest Arabic-speaking country as well as the intellectual and political center to which the whole Arab world looked at during the modern history. Also, it is the center of Islamic civilization, its Al-Azhar University is the oldest Islamic religious institution and reference in the whole Islamic world. Regardless the opinions of a segment of the Westernized Egyptian upper class from time to time perceive Egypt as Mediterranean or pharaonic.

Certainly, Egypt look at itself as the leading light of the Arab world, for the heavy burdens it bore in defense of the Arab cause and the Arab-Islamic identity was a that has been used as great asset by Egyptian leaders, who were well acknowledged and appreciated in the whole Arab world. this prestige shored up of the status of the ruler domestically, and

entitled Egypt to the Arab aid, and granted credibility to Egypt's capability to define a joint Arab policy, consequently increasing the country's strategic weight and credence in world affairs.

Additionally, the leadership position that Egypt possessed reflects the fact that it was a natural part of the inter-Arab power balance, a matter which predictably embroiled in rivalries that negatively affected the solidarity and consolidation of the Arab world. For instance, in the 1950s, modernizing, nationalist Egypt's challengers were traditional pro-Western as Iraq and Saudi Arabia, while its main ally was Syria. Yet, in the 1970s, an alliance that included Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia headed the Arab world in its hunt for peace; however when Sadat concluded a separate peace with Israel, Damascus turned to be Egypt's main adversary.

After all, Egypt's foreign policy was pulled in poles apart by the ideals of anti-imperialist and non-alignment from the other side and the augmenting dependency for economic reasons on the other side. Egypt had a long extended history of occupation, especially European imperialism, a matter which produced an intense sense of anti-imperialism and a hunt for dignity, particularly under Nasser, who boosted a powerful national pride among Egyptians. Egypt's national ideal was to be independent of both east and west, and to be a strong prosperous state. Yet, as a poverty-stricken developing country, it could not do without huge amounts of military assistance and economic aid from the advanced economies and the great world powers. Such dependency had its heavy costs and threats to national independence. The problem of dependency could be minimized by diversifying aid sources, a policy that Nasser adopted to achieve a balance between East and West, to receive aid from both sides.

Moreover, the increased American support for Israel after the June 1967 War put Egypt in such a crucial situation to be more dependent on the Soviet Union for military aid, but this dependence was, in part, balanced by growing financial aid from the Arab oil states. But by the late 1970s, when Sadat chose to count on the American administration's

diplomacy to help him to regain Egyptian territories from Israel, his relations either with the Soviet Union and the Arab world faded, a matter which led the country into heavy economic and military dependency on the Washington.

When Mubarak came to power after Sadat's death, he tried to regain the balance to the Egyptian foreign policy through restoring the relations with the country's Arab circle. As well, he maintained Cairo's commitments concerning the peace treaty signed with Israel in 1979, and to its relations with the United States. He extended relations with the majority of the world's countries, yet he neglected the African prospect for instance. Despite his foreign policy realizations, yet he encountered a number of problems on the domestic level, a matter that led to the eruption of the January 2011 revolution, influenced by the Tunisian revolution that took place only one month earlier, which kicked off a wave of uprising across the Arab world.

This upheaval created a number of challenges not only to the Egyptian foreign policy, but also to the entire Middle East region. On the Egyptian level, the most important conversion that happened is represented in the arrival of the Muslim Brotherhood group to power in the country for the first time in their history and in Egypt's history. The Islamic regime embarked on a foreign policy that goes with their ideologies and dogmas, so it reinforced its relations with countries as turkey and groups like Hamas.

Moreover, the Muslim Brotherhood President Mohamed Morsi and his group in the form of the guidance office and their political party the Freedom and Justice party, committed serious mistakes on the domestic levels when they tried to take control of the institutions of the country to achieve some benefits for the group. As a result, huge popular uprisings took the streets all over the country on June 30th, 2013 only one year after arrival to power.

This revolution managed to ouster president Morsi from the presidency, to inaugurate a new chapter in the modern history of Egypt, with the establishment of the third republic after the election of the current president Abdel- Fattah Al Sisi in June 2014. From its part, the present Egyptian regime since taking the power in the country endeavored to restore the image of the county in front of the world and to regain its role in the Middle East region. In addition, president Al-Sisi embarked upon a number of domestic reforms and mega projects to take the country out of its economic crisis.

Relevance of the study:

The importance of such a study is clearly highlighted when dealing with the foreign policy of a country like Egypt with all the fullness of the weight of Arab, regional and international, which means in the end a wide and complex network of international relations, and active diplomacy and effective. The increasing importance of this research is underscored and becomes critical as it shed the light on the Egyptian foreign policy and role of such pivotal power in Middle East in this very important moment in the history of Egypt and the entire region. In my opinion, this study about the Egyptian foreign policy after the Arab spring is considered really important and novel as it deals with a brand new topic that very few or nearly no scholars have tackled before. However, the newness of the theme was faced some limitations in the form of the lack of enough resources, especially in the parts dealing with current foreign policy of Egypt, in which I used mainly reports and statements of both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Egyptian Presidency.

Such a study is considered necessary owing to the fact that the available scholarly work on the topic of Egyptian foreign policy in general is scarce and if found it would not be solely focused on Egypt's, but rather on the foreign policy of the middle eastern countries on the whole in most cases. This piece of evidence was highlighted before by many specialized scholars in the field of Middle East and Egyptian politics namely the well-

known Egyptian academic Bahgat Korany who mentioned this actuality in many of his books.

The underlying principle of this study comes from the fact that there is a lack of academic research on Egypt as a middle-sized power in the Middle East region and for its foreign policy. Some works about Egypt as a middle power were published, but they only dealt with only one component of Egyptian foreign policy in terms of middle power diplomacy.

Objectives of the study:

Main Objective:

The main objective of this research is to assess the Egyptian foreign policy and its role in the Middle East region during the last six decades, until the present regime, with special reference to the foreign policy transformations in the aftermath of the Arab spring revolution of 2011.

Instrumental Goals:

- Analyze the role of Egypt as a pivotal middle power in the Middle East region.
- Examine the behavior of the revolutionary countries in general with particular mention to the Egyptian case.
- Assess the determinates of the Egyptian foreign policy, as well as the trends of this policy throughout the different regimes since Nasser's era passing through Sadat's until Mubarak.
- Determine the domestic and external factors that led to the eruption of the Egyptian revolution after 30 years of Mubarak's regime.

- Study the transformations and challenges that faces the Egyptian national security in before and after the Arab spring.

- Investigate the reshaped foreign policy under the Muslim Brotherhood regime that came into power for the first time in the history of the country, as well as its origins and its role in the Egyptian political scene since its establishment in the year 1928.

- Explore the main reasons for the outbreak of the June 30th, 2013 revolution that ended the rule of the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt, as well as the foreign policy of the current Egyptian regime and its efforts to resort the country's role in the region.

Methodology of the research

The study we present has been developed through three phases of research that have gradually brought us closer to the conclusions that ended and gave meaning to this piece of work. These phases are more practical than theoretical and they are based on the index of work that we present in the preliminary draft of the thesis.

Phase 1: the bibliography collection phase:

This phase includes search of all data and references that could be of interest for this research. This part of the study does not include the selection of texts and references that were actually used in the investigation, but it is merely a rough accumulation of information. This search has been basically, done in libraries, magazines, newspapers and periodicals as well as internet.

Phase 2: selection of information phase:

In this phase of the investigation, a study and good analysis of the data produced by the search for information will be conducted, in order to select the data that have the same objective of the research.

Phase 3: elaboration of the thesis:

It involves the beginning of the writing of the research, after the preparation of the all material that will be used in the thesis, according to index that is agreed upon with the director of the thesis. This phase is the one that requires more work, dedication and time. In the first place, we will start with the theoretical framework that will involve shedding the light on the role of Egypt in the region as a pivotal middle power, through an in-depth examination and study for the nature of both pivotal as well as middle powers. In addition, this analysis will involve the evaluation of the behavior of revolutionary states and the stages of revolutions as well as the Egyptian Post-Revolutionary Foreign Policy.

Phase four: Conclusion of the thesis:

This phase involves the recapitulation of everything done so far. It is the moment in which the researcher expresses his conclusions and consequently his opinion about the studied topic.

Methods:

The methodology of this study will combine a number of approaches, between the descriptive, analytical and the comparative methods. For instance, the descriptive method will be widely used in the parts that deals with the determinates of the Egyptian foreign policy and how they played a key role in the shaping of this policy. As well, this method will be the part that tackles the contemporary challenges that faces the Egyptian national security after the Arab spring wave that hit the majority of the states in the region in the beginning of 2011. In addition to the transformations that took place in the Middle East in the wake of the Arab spring.

Moreover, the comparative method will be utilized widely throughout the research especially in the parts that involve the

investigation of the Egyptian foreign policy during the different regimes that ruled the country all the way through its modern history since the establishment of the republican system in Egypt. In this context, the light will be shed on how each regime had established its own circle of relations with the outside world according to its interest. During the course of these parts, the difference in the approach of each system concerning its external connections will be easily noticed.

What is more; the analytical method will be also embarked upon, a couple of times, the first one when it comes to the exploration of both the roots of the January 2011 revolution in Egypt, and their development during Mubarak's era. As well, this investigation technique will be applied while discussing the origins of the 2013 popular uprising that overthrew the one-year Muslim Brotherhood regime in the country. Furthermore, this analytical approach will also be operated, whilst dealing with both the regional and domestic changes affecting Egypt before the Arab spring, in addition to the analysis of the effect of the fall of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt on the forces of political Islam in the whole Middle East region.

The study will be of a qualitative nature, not a quantitative one, and that is to say, it will put emphasis on words and the analysis of data and events, and discourses rather, than collection of numbers. In this manner, it is worth mentioning that this qualitative methodology focuses on the interactions among different individuals, actors and events.

This study will include comprehensive literature review of the pivotal states and middle power concepts, with a special reference to the role of middle-sized states in the world politics in general. As mentioned above, the qualitative data collection techniques will be used in this work. This research methodology involves the utilization of primary sources as well as relevant literature. For that reason, books, published articles, and conference papers, alongside with newspapers editorials, documents from the Egyptian ministry of foreign affairs as well as universities and think tanks publications will be examined throughout the course of this

investigation. Moreover, official statements and documents from the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Egyptian presidency as well as the State Information Service that are related to the topic will be considered.

Contrariwise, in every research, as mentioned above there might be certain points of weakness, and in this study, the most prominent weak spot or limitation is the shortage of comprehensive literature and resources that tackle the Egyptian foreign policy generally and after the Arab spring specifically⁽¹⁾. yet, in my point of view the most significant assets and strengths in this research would be the extensive and broad consultation of the Arabic literature, in view of the fact that Arabic is the main language both in the region and in the case study country, Egypt. Thus, using Arabic journals, books and newspaper articles added up new dimensions and richness to the study.

In addition, some interviews were carried out with a number of the prominent Egyptian foreign policy figures. For instance, an interview with Former Foreign Minister the Secretary General of the league of Arab states his Excellency Mr. Ahmed Abou Algehit was carried out in June 2016, while another one was conducted with the former Foreign Minister and the president of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Egyptian Parliament his Excellency Mr. Mohamed Al- Orabi in August 2016. These interviews provided valuable insight into Egypt's evolving foreign policy and the strategic thinking of key decision-makers.

Hypothesis:

For the development of this thesis, a number of assumptions have been initiated. These suppositions will be applied throughout the course of the research, in such a way to be refuted or affirmed as follows:

¹ Korany Bahgat and others, the Arab spring in Egypt: the revolution and after, 2012, center for Arab unity studies, in Arabic, Al Rabie Al Araby fi masr: al thawra wa ma baadha).

-Egypt is a pivotal middle power in the Middle East region that have always been on the leadership of the region, despite the setbacks that have faced the country during many phases of its history. These factors as the geopolitics, history, military and demographic power as well as its soft power are the assets of the Egyptian state that influenced the way the successive regimes have conducted the foreign policy, in order to serve the national interests of the country. As well and owing to its weight in the region, it could be easily noted that any changes or transformations that hit Egypt, would affect all the neighboring states in the region.

-The previously mentioned determinants as well as the challenges facing the Egyptian state especially in the last few years had imposed certain performance or conduct on any ruling regime to regardless of the ideology or beliefs of the regime. For instance, the Muslim Brotherhood group when they came to power in the country in 2012, for the first time in their history, they tried to implement their own foreign policy according to their dogma. Nevertheless, they could not do so and president Morsi found himself obliged to carry out a foreign policy that serve to solve the problems of the country at that period of time.

-The failure of the Muslim Brotherhood ruling experience in Egypt, could represent a big challenge for the all the political Islam groups in the entire Middle East region that are affiliated to the main group in Cairo. In other words, what happened in Egypt will have a negative impact on the future of the notion of political Islam not only in Egypt but also in the Middle East and Arab region.

-The foreign policy is a mere reflection of the domestic policy and the internal situations. In this framework, it is worth to note that the January revolution of 2011 was a direct consequence or outcome of the domestic problems of Mubarak's regime, namely the debate about inheriting the presidency to his younger son Gamal, who stepped into the political scene in the country as a part of the National Democratic Party (NDP). In addition to many other defies as the serious economic situation and the

high unemployment rates as well as the stagnation of the political life in the country.

- Over the course of history it could be easily argued that the Egyptian foreign policy or relations will always revolve around core issues or circles, that are regarded as the backbone of the Egyptian external policies, particularly in this current period. For instance, the connections with the Nile basin countries to secure its share of water, and the Palestinian cause which is considered as the main pillar for the Egyptian national security.

-The restoration of the leadership role in the region will necessitate embarking primarily on domestic reforms on all levels politically, socially and economically to take the country out of its problems. This pathway was initiated by the current regime under Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi who commenced a series of restructurings in the country, in order to achieve this target.

Structure of the Doctoral Thesis:

Chapter 1: the thesis proposes to begin with an overall theoretical framework focusing on the main and constant factors which have a determining effect on the shaping of the foreign policy in the Middle East taking into account geography, security, the ideological setting as well as the economic and social considerations.

Moreover, This chapter will involve the evaluation of the behavior of revolutionary states and the stages of revolutions as well as the Egyptian Post-Revolutionary Foreign Policy. In addition, this analysis encompassed shedding the light on the role of Egypt in the region as a pivotal middle power, through an in-depth examination and study for the nature of both pivotal as well as middle powers.

Chapter 2: this chapter involves an examination of the foreign policy of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who took power in 1954, in the

aftermath of the July 23rd, 1952 revolution that ended the monarchy in Egypt, and paved the way towards the establishment of the first republican system in the history of the country. In addition, this chapter will encompass an assessment of the key incidences and policies of the former president, as well as circles of foreign policy. This will include for instance studying the Pan Arab Nationalism policy, the Non-Alignment Policy, as well as occurrences that represented major turning points in the history of the country and the Middle East region and maybe the world as the Suez crisis, the 1967 war and the war of attrition. What's more, this chapter will shed the light on the relations of Nasser's regime with the superpowers at that epoch the United States and the Soviet Union as well as with the African continent.

Chapter 3: This chapter involves an investigation of both the domestic and foreign policies of President Anwar Al-Sadat's, who came to power after Nasser's death in September 1970, in a very difficult moment of the history of Egypt, after the occupation of the Sinai Peninsula by Israel during the 1967 war. The chapter will tackle the steps that have been taken, by the Sadat regime on the domestic level to consolidate his regime, as well as his foreign relations that he utilized to prepare for the 1973 October war through which Egypt regained its occupied territories. The chapter will deal also with the most important effect of the abovementioned war, that is the conclusion of the Camp David accords, which paved the way towards the bilateral peace agreement between Cairo and Tel- Aviv, and consequently a new episode in the history of Egypt. The chapter as well will discuss the consequences or impacts of the reconciliation with Israel on the Egyptian foreign policy with the isolation of the country from its Arab milieu for about a whole decade, and a reorientation of the country's foreign policy from the east to west.

Chapter 4: this chapter will investigate the foreign policy under President Mubarak who took power in 1981 after the assassination of Sadat by the Islamist groups. In this framework, it will examine the steps that Mubarak took to return to the Arab world and regain its leadership

role in the region. in this regard the chapter will delve into major events as the Egyptian participation in the Gulf war 1991 and the active contribution to the settlement of the Arab- Palestinian conflict. As well, the chapter will deal with circles of the Egyptian foreign policy which concentrated on regaining balance in relations with all the powers of the world with special focus on the relations with the United States and the European Union, which flourished during his era.

Chapter 5: this chapter will explore the origins of January revolution 2011, with a special reference to the domestic changes that took place during the last decade of Mubarak's rule that could be considered as the direct causes of the eruption of such uprising. Moreover, the chapter will investigate the development of Social and political movements in Egypt since 1952 which played a pivotal role in the mobilization of the revolutionary forces in January revolution. Furthermore, it will investigate the foreign relations of Egypt during the transitional period after January 25th revolution, as well as international reactions towards the uprising and the Foreign policy dimension in the January 25th revolution. As well, it will touch upon the challenges facing Egypt and the Middle East region before and after the Arab spring wave.

Chapter 6: this chapter will study the origins of the Muslim Brotherhood group and its history of establishment. Moreover, it will discuss Egypt's foreign relations since President Morsi's election in June 2012, and the provisions for the presidential elections and the establishment of the political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood group, that is the Freedom and Justice party (FJP). In addition, it will examine the relative impact of economic, international, and political pressures on the Egyptian government's foreign policy and determine whether the Islamist orientation of this government has caused significant changes in the conduct of Egyptian foreign policy. It will highlight the shifts in Egyptian foreign policy. This section devotes particular attention to the Morsi government's posture on the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, relations with the GCC states and ties with the other regional power as Iran and Turkey,

as well as the relations with the super powers namely the United States and Russia. Finally, it will investigate the impacts of the fall of the Muslim Brotherhood on their own prospects and the effect of the descent of the Muslim Brotherhood group on the future of the political Islam forces in the middle east region.

Chapter 7: this chapter will concentrate on Egypt's efforts to restore its vital role in the region, as a balancing act between its domestic and international obligations during the ongoing period under the regime of the current president Al-Sisi who took power in 2014 after the June 30th 2013 popular revolution. It will explore the impact of domestic, international, political, and economic pressures on the execution of Egypt's foreign policy initiatives.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

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THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

Introduction:

In this study, the Egyptian foreign policy after the Arab spring will be extensively. In that sense and in this part there will be a focus on the foreign policy behavior of one of the most important pivotal middle powers in the Middle East region theoretically. This will be done through an extensive analysis of the nature of the pivotal states and middle powers themselves, which will be followed by a combination of both notions. Then, there will be an in-depth examination of the stages of the revolution and the post-revolutionary behavior of states, and in the case of Egypt.

Stages of revolutions:

Each and every revolution passes at least through three main stages following its success. The first period is usually an emotional one that lasts around one or two years, during which rioters expect recognition and praise for what they have done; also they are extremely passionate and emotional. Additionally, if events do not go well and on form, they tend to criticize a lot. This period is considered the time when they can discover themselves and others, but cannot really weigh and evaluate incidents in the right way. Revolutionaries have a tendency to move from what could be known as the "ultra-nationalism" to the extreme overconfidence. Finally, the general public goes forth and back in between these two extremes.

The second period is the time when rationality takes over the extreme spirits and moods, and it is the minute when real concerns and problems such as, building up the country socially and economically as well as planning of foreign policy comes out. Thus, the economic and political development and keeping up the optimism of the first period turn

out to be the vital issues. Habitually they necessitate long-term planning, deep understanding and a strong and efficient decision-making with a public support.

While the third period is customarily the time to make real evaluations and considerations, both in negative and positive terms. During this period not only the earlier mistakes and experiences as well as successes are typically evaluated; but also the key ideological and sociopolitical penchants of the society and state are to a great extent settled on. Moreover, during this third period intellectual understanding, and global contribution as well as influencing the international politics as an effective actor take place. If the first couple of stages are successful, the last period consequently will bare its fruits in many aspects, but if not, the traces and shadows as well as the negative choices of the former periods are likely to come back again.

From sociological perspective, societies can only change after serious societal dynamics change, and as soon as these social dynamics have been altered or modified, the political and economic developments are only natural, not vice versa. Historically, two factors can induce changes in the social dynamics, the first one is the movement of people while the second one is money. Therefore, in order to have an advantageous longstanding transformation in Egypt, a new generation of leaders should be prepared to deal with and focus on social dynamics, only if a long-term change in the society is aspired. Additionally, Egypt should be exposed to the world, not only as a touristic destination, but also in a more interactive way of engagement- especially for the youth- a matter that would be a main defining feature in this long-term transformation process.

Egyptian foreign policy has always faced a historical dilemma to create a consistent and coherent equilibrium among its multiple identities, namely the Arab, African and Islamic alongside with the Mediterranean, since the time of Mohamed Ali the founder of modern Egypt, this has

always represented intellectual as well as political challenges. During the early years of the 20th century, achieving the country's independence was the principal interest in Egypt, therefore the independence movement and anti-colonial discourse had been crucial elements in the Egyptian understanding of the world.

After Nasser came to power next to 1952 revolution, this multiple identity dilemma changed in favor of Pan-Arabism over other identities, even though there was an African connection through both the Non-Alignment Movement and anti-colonial discourse. Moreover, and during the course of Sadat's era, an immense shift took place when Cairo started to focus more on the western identity departing away slowly from the Pan-Arabism and African elements, which has been the dominant and sole approach during Mubarak's presidency.

Owing to both its location and history, Egypt never enjoyed the luxury of picking out one over others, as this matter has proved by experience to be tragic for the country's national interests. For instance, the current arguments and discussions over sharing the Nile water with various African countries principally Ethiopia, might be considered as a result of a long term neglect of African dimension for many years.

An analysis of the post-revolutionary foreign policy behavior:

The foreign policy behavior of the post-revolutionary systems is generally considered as an under-represented theme or topic in international relations studies. Whereas a number of scholars and analysts have closely scrutinized the international dimensions of revolutions⁽²⁾. Only few of them have particularly concentrated on the foreign policies of revolutionary states. For instance, a revolutionary state or nation, according to David Armstrong, *“is one whose relations with other states are revolutionary because it stands for fundamental*

² Calvert Peter, Revolution and International Politics, second edition (London, UK: Pinter, 1984); David Armstrong, Revolution and World Order: The Revolutionary State in International Society (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993).

change in the principles on the basis of which states conduct their relations with each other⁽³⁾.

Revolutions alter the prevailing or existing societal order, they tend to change the "state-society dynamics", and every so often, they generate or result in a system or regime with radical and uncompromising new concepts of international relations. Undeniably, the well-established and steady actors or state, who tend to maintain the existing international order, are more likely to feel security threats arising from the revolutionary states. From a realist point of view, Stephen Walt claims that the domestic or internal transformations in a country would disrupt and upset the balance of power of the whole region and create a case of ambiguity and vagueness over the revolutionary nation's intents and competences, thus mounting the possibility of clash and misperception⁽⁴⁾. In his assessment for the realist approach, Fred Halliday underlines the attempts of the revolutionary regimes to pass on their ideologies abroad and to mobilize the populations of adjacent countries⁽⁵⁾.

Suggesting a theory of revolution and war, Walt affirms that revolutions can unexpectedly result in shift in the regional balance of power and change the threat perceptions of other states. Walt states that "Revolutions cause sudden shifts in the balance of power, alter the pattern of international alignments, cast doubt on existing agreements and diplomatic norms, and provide inviting opportunities for other states to improve their positions⁽⁶⁾. "Originally, revolutions change the capabilities of a state, through diminishing its military strength as well as its economic abilities. Hence, this momentary or transitory state of vulnerability bestows an opportunity for other nations or states aspiring to improve and enrich their standings within their regions⁽⁷⁾.

³ David Armstrong, revolution and world order: the revolutionary state in international society, P.3, Clarendon Press, Jun 10, 1993.

⁴ Walt M Stephen, Revolution and War, P. 1-21. Cornell University Press, 1996.

⁵ Halliday, Revolutions and World Politics.

⁶ Walt, Revolution and War, P. 1.

⁷ Ibid, 21.

Besides the above mentioned chances, states also may act on comprehended menaces or threats originating from the revolutionary regimes. Given that revolutionary movements radically hunt for altering the nature of the state, the new regimes have a tendency to take up objectives and predilections which are totally different from the ousted regime. Walt emphasizes that "estimating intentions is harder, and prior commitments and understandings are called into question as soon as the new leaders take power⁽⁸⁾." While the new regimes are unfamiliar and unexperienced in conducting the international relations, other states or nations try to understand and envisage the intents of new regime.

Walt explains that "the revolutionary regime will rely on its ideology to predict how others will behave, while the other powers will use the same ideology as a guide to the likely conduct of the regime." Also, he underlines that ideology itself is not mainly accountable or responsible for instigating conflicts and clashes. More accurately, it is the external perception of the revolutionary regime's ideological objectives that could negatively affect the interstate relations and trigger confrontations. Therefore, and according to Walt perceptions are more important than reality.

Thus, the possibility for conflicts and hostilities mounts when the view of a revolutionary state about its own competencies and welfares markedly fluctuates from other states' perceptions. In the midst of the turmoil and improbability of the post-revolutionary situations, Walt debates that the alteration in the threat perceptions might be considered as the key factor leading to confrontation and war.

In contrast and from his part, Fred Halliday underscores that the interior dynamics of revolution might be considered as the main reason of conflict. Discarding that shifting balance of power and threat assessments are the main stimuluses for wars or conflicts, he explained from his point

⁸ Ibid, 30.

of view that revolutions are "international events in their causes and effects" a matter which means that they undeviatingly would result in agitation in the international world order⁽⁹⁾.adding that transformation of the international order is a main purpose of the revolutionary movements.

Moreover, Halliday affirms that "revolutions have aspired to the internal transformation of societies, but equally they have sought to alter relations between states and nations⁽¹⁰⁾."Accordingly, the revolutionary movements do not only target taking control of the state, but rather aim to replicate equivalent societal transformations and changes in other states, particularly in the neighboring region. Also, Fred Halliday argues that spreading the revolutionary process, institutes the most prevailing foreign policy objective of the revolutionary regimes:

*"The challenge they pose to the international system is not so much that they propound a new form of diplomacy, or conduct international relations in a distinct manner, but that they make the altering of social and political relations in other states a major part of their foreign policy and regard themselves as having not just a right, but an obligation, to conduct their foreign policies on this basis⁽¹¹⁾."*Henceforth, revolutionary regimes first and foremost represent threats to other states namely ideological ones rather than military, economic, political, etc. For instance, in the case of Iran's revolution, the Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini cried out for its exportation all the way through the Muslim world, by "confront[ing] the world with [its] ideology⁽¹²⁾." Consequently, the revolution galvanized and inspired the Shia communities thru the region, spurning demonstrations in the Arabian Peninsula and eventually had some bearing on Saddam Hussein's decision

⁹ Halliday, Fred, "The rise and fall of the Sixth Great Power," p. 213., Duke University Press, 1999.

¹⁰Halliday, Revolution and World Politics, 3.

¹¹ Halliday, "The rise and fall of Sixth Great Power," 214.

¹² Khomeini: We Shall Confront the World with Our Ideology," MERIP Reports, 22.

to invade Iran in 1980, a matter which initiated a devastating war that lasted for about eight years⁽¹³⁾.

Nevertheless, in the lack of any state-directed endeavors to spread the ideology of the revolution, these revolutionary processes will remain spreadable and transmissible. Efficacious revolutions against well-established systems provide a pattern or a model for similar deeds and actions in other societies. Halliday discusses that the impacts and effects of revolutions "lies not in the deliberate actions of states, but in the force of example⁽¹⁴⁾."The revolutions are spreadable by nature and they are not in need for any regime-led tries or attempts of exportation to function as a "catalyst" for agitating the established orders⁽¹⁵⁾. For instance, the Bolshevik revolution revealed the capacity of the repressed proletariat and grassroots to cause the downfall of the monarchical order in Russia in the beginning of the last century, while the Iranian revolution showed off the mobilizing potential of the Muslim masses. Thus, These revolutionary incidences can in that way stimulate or trigger other populations aspiring for the similar social and political transformations.

Even though revolutionary nations cannot reduce the contagious effect emerging from within their borders, Halliday debates they can counterbalance this threat of revolutionary contagion via diplomatic efforts. In this context, he mentioned that, "revolutions tend not to begin by immediately confronting the international system, but rather tend at first to enjoy good relations with external forces⁽¹⁶⁾."(These revolutionary regimes primarily seek a sort of adaptation and adjustment rather than disagreement with their neighboring states, in quest of subjugating their rivals and consolidating the domestic control. So, nations in revolution would at the outset go through what could be described as a grace period, during which the external powers quietly witness the progress of the

¹³The Shia revival: How conflicts within Islam will shape the future, Nasr, Vali, p. 138-139, W. W. Norton, Apr 17, 2007

¹⁴ Ibid, 218.

¹⁵ Halliday, fred "The Sixth Great Power," p. 218.

¹⁶ Halliday, fred, Revolution and World Politics, p. 135.

revolutionary processes at the same time as the internal actors compete for state control⁽¹⁷⁾. Thus, all the way through this period the foreign policy of revolutionary systems often presents or expose paradoxical objectives, namely maintaining a “dual commitment” to accommodation and promoting revolutionary ideology abroad. Therefore, Halliday insists that the revolutionary regimes aim to secure and firm up their domestic political authority before challenging the international order.

On the other hand, while Halliday foresees that the conflict usually erupts in the last stages of revolutionary processes, Walt explains that the initial period of social upheaval in any state can be considered as the focus for clashes and conflicts. Walt allegation that foreign powers do not idly perceive a revolutionary nation's development denotes that wars and confrontations are most likely to occur immediately afterwards the revolutions, as this is the apt time when misperception is ordinary and common a matter which pave the way for the uncertainty to predominate⁽¹⁸⁾. Contrariwise, the chances or probabilities of confrontation fades as the revolutionary transformation come close to an end and the new regime adapt and accommodate itself with the international order.

An assessment for Egypt's Post-Revolutionary Foreign Policy:

In compliance with the theoretical model of Fred Halliday, Egypt in the aftermath of the revolution has renounced any confrontations with the international order. Five years have already passed since the revolution deposed Mubarak's regime. Caught between the theories or modules of both Halliday and Walt either the inclination or desire to stimulate clash and revolutionary change abroad or the need for consolidating and preserving the revolutionary state domestically, the post-revolutionary

¹⁷ Ibid, 134

¹⁸ Walt, *Revolution and War*, p. 44.

Egyptian regime the Muslim will seek to engrain itself internally before pursuing any ideological objectives internationally⁽¹⁹⁾.

Subsequently, according to Halliday's model, the alleviation of domestic pressures would enable any post-revolutionary Egyptian regime to challenge the international system. For instance, acting in a manner which more consistent with its ideology, the Islamist-led government while formulating foreign policy would have likely inclined in the direction of Hamas, adopted a more hostile attitude towards Israel, and increasingly defying U.S. interests.

On the other hand, Walt's module would project the continuation of accommodationist trends in Egypt's post-revolution foreign policy. As soon as the ambiguity surrounding the regime's intents has receded, the likelihood of war eruption between Egypt and its neighbors will have expectedly elapsed, and the Egyptian regime would become much more adapted to the international system to which it belongs. Over the course of time, Walt argues that the ties between the revolutionary states and the rest of the world or international system will become increasingly normal, supposing that both sides are really capable of assessing and revising its policies in light of experience⁽²⁰⁾. In consequence, and as Egypt becomes familiar with the prevailing international order, the regime will gradually search for integration and normalization with both its neighbors and key regional states. If the regime feels domestically secure, ideology could affect—but not decisively reorient-Egypt's alignment choices⁽²¹⁾. Instead, Walt's theory would predict, national security interests and threat perceptions will continue to dictate Egypt's foreign policy objectives until greater domestic stability is achieved.

¹⁹ Halliday, *Revolution and World Politics*, p. 156.

²⁰ Walt, *Revolution and War*, p. 43.

²¹ Walt, Stephen. M, *The Origins of Alliances*, Cornell University Press, 2013 , p.40.

Diverging away from the expectancies and anticipations of both Walt and Halliday, Egypt's revolution progressed without any military or ideological confrontations with external powers, -unlike other countries in region as Syria, Libya, and Yemen. the governing authority was delivered to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) that managed to pursue normal diplomatic relations not only with Egypt's neighbors but also with the international powers.

Even with the uncertainty and ambiguity surrounding Egypt's domestic turmoil, the sixteen months of SCAF interim rule remarkably did not involve any kind of interstate tensions or conflicts. Moreover, the following period of Mohamed Morsi's presidency has witnessed the expansion of Egypt's accommodationist behavior or attitude abroad. The SCAF and Morsi government's trials to bind the country to its international commitments and intensifying diplomatic relations with regional actors, have succeeded to ameliorate the contagion effect of Egypt's revolution, a matter which is in contrary to Halliday's expectation of revolutionary state behavior.

The Brotherhood-led government has not pursued a dual policy that entail both accommodationist and confrontational strategies. In its place, the Morsi's government has strongly renounced any intentions to spread and transfer either the revolution or its own ideological values and beliefs to other states or societies.

The Foreign Policy Behavior of Revolutionary States:

Even though significantly reshaping Egypt's domestic politics, the January 25th, 2011, revolution has not dramatically re-oriented its foreign policy. Rather, it has deeply-rooted longstanding trends in its international relations namely receiving economic aid, strengthening relations with the West, and preserving regional security. Regardless of its profound antagonism toward Israel and hateful views of the American foreign policy, the Muslim Brotherhood as the legitimate governing power

after the revolution had reduced the importance of its ideological objectives to the necessities of consolidating its domestic control over the country.

Furthermore, it could be argued that strains from the Egyptian bureaucracy as the Military and General Intelligence Service (GIS) as well as the ministry of foreign affairs to some extent, has relatively triggered Morsi's government to maintain its standing relationships and to emphasize national security objectives in the near term⁽²²⁾. Whether constrained by the absence of ideological objectives or the incapacity to pursue them, the Muslim brotherhood government has forged realistic and pragmatic foreign policy that concentrated on conserving Cairo's international commitments, obtaining financial assistance and political support, as well as maintaining and establishing alliances with a diverse array of actors.

Whereas the changes on the Egyptian internal level are not likely to induce such a substantial re-orientation in the country's foreign policy, tragic international events and circumstances could force the Egyptian regime to reevaluate its international alignments. Notwithstanding the Egyptian regime's ideological orientation, the economic and national security considerations will probably remain the dominant and paramount motives of Egyptian foreign policy for the time being.

Analysis of Egypt's 2011 Revolution:

Consumed by demands of regime change, the slogans and mottos of Egyptian protestors were barely fixated and concentrated on toppling Mubarak and bringing to an end his regime. The Egyptian revolution lacked an international dimension, even with the broad popular opposition and aversion towards Israel as well as the suspicion of the policies of the

²² A Delicate Balancing Act: Egyptian Foreign Policy After The Revolution, Joshua Haber ,Helia Ighani ,May 2013, The Institute For Middle East Studies, the Elliott school of international affairs, the George Washington university.

west represented in both the United States and Europe. Instead, the Egyptian 2011 revolution sustained an inward focus, ensuring that economic and political issues would fundamentally shape the policies of Egypt's post-revolution government.

A longing for dignity, justice, and economic opportunity, not a aspiration to confront Israel or any other adversaries, stimulated and triggered the Egyptian masses in January 2011, likewise, the Egyptian revolution didn't have any exportable ideological objectives a matter, which is totally contrasting –for instance- with the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran that merged anti-imperialism with transnational Islamism⁽²³⁾. or even the 1952 revolution in Egypt of president Nasser, which combined both also the anti- imperialism but this time with the notions of nationalism and pan Arabism , etc.

Political analysts and scholars, were able to distinguish a crucial feature or characteristic between both revolutions, as for, the Iranian revolution it was not about economic concerns, but it was about American and Israeli interference in Iranian society. Therefore, this is quite dissimilar and atypical from the Egyptian revolution, which was about achieving freedom and dignity as well as improving the economy not about Cairo's foreign relations by any means. This is why in the first few months no one burned neither the American nor the Israeli flags⁽²⁴⁾. Certainly, the Egyptian protesters were not mobilized by power-seeking elites advocating or championing ambitious and elaborate ideologies, but they merely joined the leaderless demonstrations with the joint goal and target of toppling a 30 years old authoritarian regime. The lack of a collective ideology or an external dimension for the 2011 revolution, made its effects on the international system quiet minimal, rather, it created a state of polarization and battles over other issues as the electoral and

²³ Halliday, Fred, *Revolution and World Politics*, 124-125. Duke University Press, 1999.

²⁴ Op. Cit . p.8-16

constitution-writing processes that governed the Egyptian political scene for some time during the transitional period.

The 2011 Egyptian revolution aimed at introducing some internal transformation, by bringing the existing political order to an end on one hand and endowing new actors to the political scene in the country on the other hand. Principally, the Islamic current represented in the Muslim brotherhood group who were repressed for years under Mubarak and Nasser, come into view to assume as the new ruling authority, despite the fact that constituents of the old deposed regime who faced a state of exclusion and freezing out. Straightaway after the revolution, and instantaneously after taking power in Egypt, divisions broke out particularly between the ideology owned groups namely the Leftists and Islamists, as well as between the government and opposition.

However, this acutely polarized political climate did not manage to create an ideologically-charged or confrontational foreign policy, as an alternative, the domestic instability underscored the importance and priority of alliance building and achieving economic development objectives. This behavior of the post-revolutionary Egypt is totally opposite to the classical and typical behavior of revolutionary states in general. The Egyptian regime after the 2011 revolution has neither aspired to transfer and spread its revolution abroad nor sought conflicts with other states, especially the neighboring ones. From its part, the Muslim brotherhood government has revealed and showed its preference for accomplishing cooperation, balance, and continuity. This behavior could be easily compared to the behavior of any actor under usual and traditional conditions rather than the behavior of a revolutionary state, as a result Morsi government's foreign policy orientation was largely windswept of any ideological content.

Renouncing a "Revolutionary" Foreign Policy:

Striving for projecting a non-threatening posture abroad and to reassure its neighbors that Egypt remains committed to maintaining peace in the region, the post-revolutionary regimes, including, the Muslim brotherhood government has steadily exalted and praised the norms of state sovereignty and non-interference, whilst refuting an aspiration to spread the Egyptian revolution outside its borders. For instance, in his July 1st, 2012 inaugural speech, President Morsi clearly declared his government's commitment to international norms, he mentioned that “*We are not exporting the revolution. Egyptians do not export the revolution. We do not interfere in anyone’s affairs*”⁽²⁵⁾.”

Additionally, he reiterated this position during his September 2012 discourse to the United Nations General Assembly, asserting Egypt’s aspiration to cooperate with the international community “in a spirit of equality and mutual respect, entailing non-intervention in the affairs of other states as well as the implementation of the international principles, agreements and conventions”⁽²⁶⁾.” the same rhetoric that indicated Egypt’s nonthreatening intentions also appeared in the 2011 Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) electoral platform.

It was argued that despite the fact that the Islamist led government may consider and envision some ideological objectives, Egypt’s continual domestic challenges and pressures critically constrain the foreign policy choices of any government’s and advance the importance and significance of alignment decisions. This piece of work discusses that the Egyptian government pursues external alignments basically to consolidate and firm up its internal political authority. Also these alignments can help in the alleviation of the economic, political, and institutional challenges facing regime security. In this context and from his

²⁵ President Mohamed Morsi’s Speech at Cairo University,” Ikhwan Web.

²⁶ Statement of H.E. Dr. Mohamed Morsi,” The Permanent Mission of Egypt to the United Nations in New York, September, 2012

point of view the political scientist Curtis Ryan claims that, "*Alignments are external solutions to both domestic and regional security problems...made and utilized by a ruling political elite in order to maintain its own security and survival*"⁽²⁷⁾."

Deviating away from the realist theory of international relations, which suggests that states and nations only form alignments and alliances just to maintain equilibrium against foreign powers and external threats, some scholars underscore the prevalence of domestic threats and challenges in forming and shaping foreign policy behavior of developing, weak and small states. Undeniably, systems and regimes presiding over the above mentioned entities, especially those facing fragile political and economic conditions are more likely to be toppled by internal coups or revolutions than by external invasions⁽²⁸⁾.

The primacy of those internal challenges might be easily referred back to the nature of these regimes themselves, which stereotypically is in shortage of the adequate resources or governing legitimacy to tackle the domestic unrest. Confronting and encountering number of threats to regime survival, Steven David explains that Third World nations should direct their limited resources to deal with the most serious threats, whether external or internal in nature. Accordingly, "*the most powerful determinant of Third World alignment behavior is the rational calculation of Third World leaders as to which outside power is most likely to do what is necessary to keep them in power*"⁽²⁹⁾". Creating or consolidating external alliances is useful in thwarting domestic threats to state security, again Curtis Ryan states that "*An external alliance can generate resources (economic and military) to counter domestic threats by stabilizing the economy, providing economic payoffs to key domestic constituencies, or strengthening the power of the state security apparatus*"⁽³⁰⁾."

²⁷ Ryan R. Curtis, *Inter-Arab alliances, regime security and Jordanian foreign policy*, University Press of Florida, 2009, p.12-14)

²⁸ Explaining Third World Alignment, David R. Steven, *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Jan., 1991), pp. 238

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 235

³⁰ Barnett and Levy, "Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments," p. 374

To wrap up, the foreign policy behavior of revolutionary or post-revolutionary states has received insufficient and little attention from the international relations scholars. Both Fred Halliday and Stephen Walt, whose works can be considered as the most substantive contributions to the already existing literature in this topic, label the foreign policies of revolutionary nations as aggressive and conflicting by nature. Though Walt conjoins the mysterious intents and unpredictability as well as the impulsiveness of revolutionary states with conflicts, Halliday debates that these nations induce confrontation either deliberately or unintentionally through generating a contagious impact the neighboring countries. Yet and from its part Egyptian state has sought integration and accommodation with the avoidance of any confrontations with other power, in an attitude or behavior that is dramatically different from both Walt and Halliday's predictions and anticipations for the post-revolution systems.

This analysis has demonstrated that the Egyptian government is a 'rational' actor whose leaders plan and implement their decisions based on subjective evaluations of risks and threats as well as external perceptions. Even so, the decision-making process is not always thought through and is commonly predisposed to miscalculations and errors. For instance, and as for the post-revolutionary regime of the Muslim Brotherhood, who has never been in power before, the political naiveté and inexperience have certainly influenced their foreign policy decision-making process. Moreover, relationships between institutions and jurisdictions were unclear, a matter which augmented the potential for the miscommunication between Egypt's various foreign policy actors⁽³¹⁾.

Egypt: The Middle Pivotal Power:

The study will combine both the pivotal and middle powers, in addition to the foreign policy behavior and the different stages of

³¹A Delicate Balancing Act: Egyptian Foreign Policy After The Revolution, The Institute For Middle East Studies, the Elliott school of international studies. The George Washington university,

revolution in any nation. Hence, a brief history of the middle power approach will be presented. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that before the year 1945, middle power was a relational concept, in the logic that it has been defined with reference to other classes in the states system, especially the principal powers.

Figure 1: EGYPT at a Glance



Size: 16th Largest country in the world
Population: 85,294,388 (July 2013 est.)
Population under 25: 50.3%
Urban population: 43.5% of total population (2011)
Cairo (capital): 11.169 million; Alexandria: 4.387 million (2011)
Population below the poverty line: 20% (2005 est.)
Literacy: 73.9% total population (male: 81.7% female: 65.8%)
Youth Unemployment: 24%
Labor Force by occupation: agriculture: 32%, industry: 17%, services: 51%



Sources: Graphic created by CRS using boundary and city data from Esri and Google Maps .
At-a-glance information from CIA World Factbook.

Furthermore, there was little concern and considerateness of middle-sized states until the materialization of the League of Nations in 1920 and later the United Nations in 1945. Until that time, such powers either did not really exist or were not cherished per se. What is more, and on the trail of the establishment of the League of nations, there had been strong demands, especially from some countries as, Canada, Australia and Brazil, to be formally recognized as middle-sized states. In addition to granting them an exceptional status in the existing structure of the international system⁽³²⁾ But unfortunately their efforts were not deemed to succeed and did not harvest the return they hoped for.

According to Waltz⁽³³⁾, the traditional typical and deep-rooted focus of international politics, has been of a big extent on the great powers, a matter which implies that the role of middle-sized actors has been omitted. In this regard, the light would here be shed generally on the influences or the impacts of middle-sized states in international politics with special emphasis on that of Egypt in the Middle East region.

In this framework, Cairo could be identified or describe as a middle sized country, yet many elements for instance, population, size, history, military strength, and diplomatic experience, as well as, the strategic geographical position have always accorded it such a widespread and broad political influence in the whole Middle East region and Arab world. Cairo has been a crossroad for the regional, as well as the international trade and a cradle of the cultural renaissance for many centuries; its intellectual and academic institutions are at the heart of the Middle East social and cultural development⁽³⁴⁾

What is more, the Egyptian military currently can be considered as the largest military powers among all the Arab nations. As well, it is the

³² Holbraad, C., *Middle Powers in International Relations*, New York: St. Martins Press, 1984. p.42-56.

³³ Waltz, K., *Theory of International Politics*, New York: Random House, 1979. P. 72.

³⁴ Kavi, O. T., *Islamic movements in the middle east, Egypt as a Case Study*, *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 6, No 4, December 2001- February 2002

most densely inhabited country in the Middle East, with a population of more than 90 million people.

During the Cold War, the conception of middle-sized status was well suited to type of bipolar nature of the international system. Owing to the nature of the existing system, the bipolarity, middle-sized states played a limited role. Thus, they either had choose whether to join one of the blocs or choose to remain neutral and non-aligned. The possibility of middle-sized states playing a prominent role at international level remained limited. In the recent literature the middle power approach refers to states' sizes and rank which place them in an international division of labour, in which they have the opportunity of exerting political, economic and moral influence on the international system⁽³⁵⁾. At the outset, Cox debates that middle-sized states are to be found in the middle rank of material capabilities, both militarily and economically, and reveal that they have these abilities and the technical expertise to function as middle powers on both global and regional levels⁽³⁶⁾.

According to the middle power approach, those states or actors are generally active in what some scholars have labelled as "low politics" or in other words second order issues on the international agenda. Amongst the reasons are that great power have an implicit monopoly on the first order topics. Thus, the issues on the first agenda of global politics are not directly threatening middle powers, but they are more concerned with challenges and defies stemming from second order issues. However, this does not mean they have no effect on first order issues, but in fact, they do have relative influence on some matters as the agenda setting and policy coordination depending on their diplomatic skills.

³⁵Schoeman, M, South Africa as an Emerging Middle Power: 1994-2003 in J. Daniel, & A. Habib, and R. Southall (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2003-2004*, Cape Town:HSRC Publishers, 2003, p.350 .

³⁶Cox, R. W., *middlepowermanship, Japan and the future world Order*, *International Journal*, 44, Autumn 1989, p.826-827

Their impact will be constrained by structural pressures though. Moreover, their influence might vary issue by issue, by institutional arena, and by the openness and receptivity to initiatives from other sources. There is a close affinity between the middle power approach and multilateralism. For all intents and purposes, middle power diplomacy confers central role to multilateral institutions and they rely on multilateralism and networking to advance a vast range of common issues where they believe that they cannot act alone effectively, but might be able to have a systemic impact as part of a small group or through the international institutions.

Consequently, in modern times, the roles of middle power have been closely associated with the development of international organizations. Some scholars argue that middle powers are at the same time regional powers⁽³⁷⁾. In contrast, he stresses that middle powers have a secondary role in alliances and no special place in the regional blocs, but in his analysis he was based on the Cold War experiences.

One of the most important elements in identifying middle-sized states in their international behavior or what is known as the middle power diplomacy⁽³⁸⁾. They have described middle power diplomacy as the inclination to pursue multilateral solutions to international problems, for instance, the tendency to embrace compromise or negotiation positions in international disputes, and the affinity to embrace notions of good global citizenship to direct their diplomacy.

As stated by them, middle-sized states help out to maintain the international order by means of coalition-building, and serving as mediators or "go – between", as well as, through international conflict management and resolution activities, all of which require quality and

³⁷ Ibid, p.825.

³⁸ Cooper, A. F., & R. A. Higgott and R. K. Nossal, *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1993. P.19

active diplomacy⁽³⁹⁾. It could be multilateral or based in the structures and processes of international organizations or regimes.

What is more, the Middle power diplomacy could be either dependent on the interaction of members of a group of especially interested countries or conducted unilaterally by an individual country on its own motion. Over the long run, middle power diplomacy as⁽⁴⁰⁾ Henrikson emphasizes depends on institutions. Institutional membership within an organization can provide power, which may otherwise be lacking. An organization might create an form of neutrality and legitimacy for the actors too, while in the same time carrying an authority. All of the above-mentioned elements could assist in founding the credibility and acceptability that middle power diplomacy may need in order to be an effective player in the regional and global issues.

Another important dimension of the evolving diplomatic practices of middle powers in global politics especially with the process of globalization is the increasing importance of issue-specific, mission oriented diplomacy⁽⁴¹⁾. As issue-specific diplomacy is becoming more up to date in the post-Cold-War era, middle powers keep up with the developments and use this for cutting across the ideological, regional and developmental barriers of the world problems. As Higgott explains⁽⁴²⁾, the mission-oriented diplomacy has principally three main dimensions. First of all, it plays the functional leadership and coalition building by an active state bureaucracy through acting as a catalyst to facilitate managerial roles of states. While the second dimension is presented in its role in offering space for the non -traditional actors in international affairs by focusing more on the roles of Non-Governmental organizations, social movements

³⁹ Henrikson, A. K., middle powers as managers: international mediation within, across and outside institutions, p.56.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p.61.

⁴¹ Higgott, R., issues, institutions and middle power diplomacy: actions and agendas in the post- cold war era, p.37.

⁴² Ibid, p.38

especially those who are interested in issues such as human rights, species protection, etc.

Lastly, it has ability to linkage issues, for instance, the relationship between gender and development or security; as well between trade and the environment which are considered as the most prominent questions coming to the top of the international agenda.

The image of middle power diplomacy in the aftermath of the Cold War is extremely different from the one of its historical roots. In this regard, it is worth to be noted that the focal point of middle power diplomacy in the past was predominantly centered on mediation activity. However, with the international agenda dominated by geo-political issues, the diplomatic efforts of middle powers were directed towards easing global tensions as a general rule, and avoiding the possibility of another world war particularly. On the other hand, After the Cold- War they have embarked on a route that is not transformative but reformative in that they try to gain some profits and advantages for themselves. Ever since that time the middle powers have had a greater chance or prospect to use their enhanced space to widen their range of activity and maneuver. In fact, what has developed in the early 1990's in the world politics in the aftermath of the cold war, is not only a more segmented but more multifaceted type of diplomatic behavior.

Pivotal State:

With the advent of the 1990s, that witnessed the closing stages of the Cold-War and the collapse of the USSR signaled the united states' unipolar hegemony on world politics, the search for new paradigms for understanding the new era has come to the forefront. Thus, a couple of theories have been put forward for the sake of comprehending both the politics of the new world order and the role of the United States in the new circumstances. The concept of pivotal state should be analyzed within this

context⁽⁴³⁾. The notion of pivotal state has been chiefly introduced as an analysis from above in the assessment of the American strategy towards the developing world. However, it was formed at the very beginning for the US foreign policy decision-makers; academics and scholars from everywhere started to use the concept as an academic tool for examining the politics of the developing countries.

Its founders claimed that the pivotal states are a small number of countries whose future fate is uncertain⁽⁴⁴⁾. Today's pivotal states can be easily compared to yesterday's domino states. The domino theory argues that if one state was lost in its region during the Cold War, then, the whole region could be lost or change its external allegiance. Yet, this was very true and real during the period of Cold-War rivalry. In the present day, because of the characteristics and nature of the international system after the 1990s, the domino states no longer exist. The idea of pivotal states, however, could be perceived as an old concept in a new era.

According to scholars as Chase, Hill and Kennedy, states have to possess essential features, namely vital geographical locations, large populations, and physical size, as well as respectable economic potential in order to be defined as pivots. Henceforth, a state's territory must have strategic significance; it could either be a borderline country or occupy a strategic position regarding international trade and politics. Furthermore, the possession of a strategic strait could be sufficient and adequate to name a state pivotal. The large population and physical size are binary crucial requirements but they are not enough to describe a state's pivotness.

In identifying a pivotal state, both economic potential and regional importance are also critical. In addition, a pivotal state could be defined as a key country whose future may not only determine the success or failure of its region, but would also impinge on the international

⁴³ Ozkan, M., Geography of Strategic Thinking in the US in post- cold war era, Turkish Journal of Islamic Studies, vol. 20, 2008, p.118-119).

⁴⁴ Chase, R. & E. Hill and P. Kennedy, pivotal states and US strategy, Foreign Affairs, Vol 75, no.1, January-February,1996. p.33).

stability drastically. Pivotal state theorists do not emphasize the military capabilities of such states. Instead, their main concern is the regional and economic importance of pivotal states. A pivotal state is extremely influential regionally that its collapse would spell trans-boundary chaos, as migration, violence, pollution, disease, etc. While alternatively a pivotal state's economic progress and stability, would boost its region's economic vitality and political soundness.

Chase, Hill, Kennedy's definition implies that pivotal states are borderline states, in the sense that they could either progress or regress. They are exceptionally significant for their proximate regions, as they are usually considered as strong states in their regions. What makes them even more important is the fact that there is always a high possibility of either tumbling themselves into mayhem or keep going with advancement. They have the ability to affect their immediate regions in undertaking both of the abovementioned scenarios. To elucidate more, pivotal states' own development and democratization can affect the occurrences and incidents in their neighboring regions positively, as well their collapse could also have negative repercussions.

Chase, Hill and Kennedy also stress that pivotal states are important because their fate could determine a wider region's fate implying that these pivots are in a way role models. A pivotal state could be distinguished as a country whose neighbors look to it for leadership, in many fields as the economic development and integration, as well as regional security. On the international level, pivotal states can play a key role in the global negotiations on topics such as, environmental accords, human rights, and population problems.

Also, the pivotal states have to be encouraged to join global platforms and forums especially with the increased demand for the spread of democracy and human rights across our globe. In order to maintain the World Trade Organization (WTO) regime and to boost the global economy more, pivotal states may play a significant role, and their

exclusion from such platforms, would entail international stability to a big failure.

To summarize on this point, a pivotal state is a key country that retains the potential to have a significant beneficial or harmful effect on its regions. Such states are not dreadfully poor or war-stricken countries; but on the contrary, they are large, populous states, often with a substantial growing middle class. They also have considerable infrastructural and educational resources. Furthermore, they exercise increasing integration into the global economy with their emerging market potentials. Likewise, with their capacity to play key roles on the regional level, pivotal states also have something to contribute to international community as well, such as in humanitarian matters.

Combining the Pivotal State and Middle Power concepts:

In the outset, it should be elucidated that the concept of the pivotal middle power is a combination of the pivotal state and middle power approach. As explained previously, to be pivotal, a state have to be physically impressive, with large population and economic power, as well as strategic location. In addition, a pivotal state must have the ability to influence both the regional and international stability. Nonetheless, its collapse would result in transboundary turmoil, yet its prosperity and stability would shore up its region's economic and political vitality.

Then again, to be a middle power, in addition to size, population, and geo-strategic location, a state must have middle rank, economic and military capacities and emphasize multilateral diplomacy and quite a relevant involvement in international organizations. Furthermore, a middle power is relatively active in second-order topics as, peacekeeping and humanitarian issues. Being a good international citizen and complying with the general interest are also factors regarded as key behavioral patterns of middle powers. In the global affairs, middle powers act as catalysts, facilitators and managers.

Pivotal state theorists do not emphasize the military capabilities of such states, while the middle power approach, in contrast, pays specific attention to them, because middle powers could play a leading role in security issues both at regional and international levels. Pivotal states are important for their regions' economic vitality and development. As previously mentioned, the theoretical basis of this study lies in combination of the concepts middle power and pivotal state to develop the pivotal middle power notion. The lack of military power in the case of pivotal states and the regional economic importance of middle powers are one of the reasons why both ideas merged, while the other reason is that the pivotal states concept originated mostly to suggest a new framework for United States policy towards the developing world. This concept is, therefore, is considered as an analysis from above. While the middle power concept is on the contrary based on a state, centric approach designed to assess the role of the middle powers in the international system and to put forward an analysis from below.

In fact, pivotal middle power is more than merely a combination of two theories, as it has further implications. This new definition also does not only represent simply a power that is influential in its own region, but implies a state that could play critical role in international politics, where the issues are beyond the region. It is also must be noted that such states are not agents of global superpowers in their respective regions. Their interest might couple with that of these powers occasionally, but this does not mean, that they tend to be their agents.

By contrast, when the superpowers necessitate these pivotal middle powers more than normal times, they could deny the cooperation and act independently. This behavior might transform occasionally, and from one issue to another. If regional concerns are so strong and against the interventions of superpowers, such states could undermine even plans of the superpower.

On the other hand, the pivotal middle power notion might also be seen as an elaborated version of the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) developed by Buzan and Wæver in the year 2003⁽⁴⁵⁾. Their main argument is that as most threats tend to move more easily over short distances than over long ones, then security interdependence is normally patterned into regionally based clusters: security complexes. Their underlying argument for focusing on region is that the RSCT, by applying to the international system offers a vision for emerging world order⁽⁴⁶⁾. They asserted that the regional level will always be operative, also they have an opinion that the conditions of the post-Cold War world will enhance the importance and significance of the regional level for security. While this argument is the basis of the pivotal middle power concept, it fills the gap that Buzan and Wæver do not touch in real and practical sense. Whereas the security complexes are very analytical, and certainly true in understanding today's global politics, yet the way that such complexes can contribute to global order in practical terms is not clear. Pivotal middle power aims to put this analysis into practice, by explaining and understanding the behavior of the regional key state.

The pivotal middle power approach is of the similar opinion with the RSCT in analyzing regions and global politics in broader perspective. For them, the theories are generated in the global level and the regions fitted into them, creating a top-down approach most of the time. As Waltz once stated, since Thucydides, the traditional focus of international politics has been on the great powers⁽⁴⁷⁾. A matter that meant that the role of middle-sized states has either been downplayed. Therefore and aware of such an approach⁽⁴⁸⁾, emphasize that RSCT is a bottom-up approach in attempting to capture the differences and specialties of regions and then assemble the global picture from these components. In that sense, both PMP and RSCT are the same on the basis that they are not top-down

⁴⁵ Buzan, B. and O. Wæver, *Regions and Powers, the Structure of International Security*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, P.39

⁴⁶ Ibid, P.40

⁴⁷ Waltz, K., *Theory of International Politics*, New York: Random House, 1979, P. 72

⁴⁸ Op.Cit, P.85

approaches. PMP argues that if the pivotal and middle power states came together from different regions and were able to act together, one would realize the increasing influence of regions and their superpowers, the PMP's in global politics.

In the post-Cold War epoch, pivotal middle powers have been increasingly playing critical roles in their regional security, as well as global security through their contribution to peacekeeping and peacemaking process. While they are influential in their regions, their contributions are limited on the global scale. Since the 9/11, it has been expected that the pivotal middle powers would play roles that are more influential globally and regionally as soon as, they have opportunity to do so.

This study considers the pivotal middle power as a key state that is able, and willing to project power and influence developments beyond its borders-regionally and internationally and one to determine the fate of its region to a certain extent. Moreover, it will identify a pivotal middle power by its active involvement in security issues, such as peacekeeping and its leading role with regard to regional economic development and integration.

The unique characteristic of pivotal middle powers is their ability to play a role at regional and international levels. Furthermore, they are regional powers, as they occupy the heartland of their regions. Thus, their role however, cannot be limited to their regions. Another important feature of pivotal middle powers is their ability to link between the issues of regional and international ones. They are aware of the fact that a regional issue could easily have repercussions at the international level and vice versa.

In this study the usefulness of the pivotal Middle East power's comes from analyzing Egypt as a key country in defining policies in the region. With its economic potential, deep civilizational history, and

military power as well as its longstanding intellectual leadership, Egypt unquestionably has more influence in the Middle Eastern affairs than many others in the region. for that reason, it was very important to embark on this study that tackle the foreign policy of a country pivotal middle power like Egypt throughout its modern history since the establishment of the first republic after the July 23rd, 1952 revolution.

Egypt experienced a dramatic identity transformation after the 1967 war and this change led to advent of a new identity. According to Prizel⁽⁴⁹⁾. when changes occur within a state, as in Egypt, when one government or a president in the case of Egypt, the national interests will be redefined and/or reconstructed accordingly. This formation or reconstruction of its identity often reshapes a state's political and economic relations and development⁽⁵⁰⁾.

A state's foreign policy role, as one of its social identities, refers to policy makers' own definitions of the general kinds of decisions, commitments, rules and actions suitable to their state, and the functions, if any, their state should perform on a continuing basis in the international system⁽⁵¹⁾. One of the basic objectives of any state is to define its role and have it accepted and acknowledged by other international actors. A state's role reflects its claim on the international system, a recognition by other actors, and a conception of its national identity.

Therefore⁽⁵²⁾, Le Pestre argues that foreign policy change rests on a redefinition of a state's role. Egypt's role changed because of the domestic and international changes the country was facing after the many major events namely 1967 war and the January 25th revolt of the Arab spring and finally the June 30th popular uprising that toppled the Islamic regime. This new role definition or articulation explains its foreign policy

⁴⁹ Prizel, I., *National Identity and Foreign Policy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. p:14

⁵⁰ Cruz, C., *Identity and Persuasion: How Nations Remember, Their Pasts and Make Their Futures*, World Politics, 52, 2000. p.277

⁵¹ Le Pestre, P.G., *Defining Foreign Policy Roles After the Cold War*, in *Role Quests in the Post-Cold War Era: Foreign Policies in Transition*, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997. p:4).

⁵² Ibid, P. 5

preferences, its self-image and the image the world had of it, its expectations, its definitions of specific situations and its available options.

As Karawan⁽⁵³⁾ also argues that any policy shift of Egyptian foreign policy has regional implications, showing its pivotal middle power status. Pivotal middle powers can play leading role not only in initiating a policy regionally but also by their creative intellectual and entrepreneurial leadership⁽⁵⁴⁾. They could change the discourse on an issue. In other words, domestic issues are so important for the behavior of the pivotal middle power that can define the scope of, or limit, its approach to any key issue in its region. To conclude on this point, the domestic situation whether stabilized, less-problematic or conflicting, of pivotal middle powers can be as influential as their economic and military power in their policies, projection and leadership role in their regions.

Determinates of the Egyptian foreign policy:

Settled on both sides of both the African and Asian continents, packed in between the Mediterranean and Red seas, and watered by River Nile that feeds ten countries, Egypt is a state predestined to have a broad and widespread contact with the outside world. though the nature of this relationship has receded and emanated throughout its history, sometimes encouraging Egypt's ambitious aspirations and at other times demoting it to subject status, foreign policy is considered as a dynamic important axiom of the success or failure of the Egyptian state.

There are a number of constants that perpetually influence the pursuit of Egypt's foreign policy, but these elements or features are the principles and considerations upon and within which Egypt should mold

⁵³ Karawan. I., Foreign policy restructuring: Egypt's disengagement from the Arab- Israeli conflict revisited, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Vol 18, No 3, October 2005. p:326

⁵⁴ Higgott, R.A & Andrew F. Cooper Middle Power Leadership and coalition building: Australia, the Cairns Group, and the Uruguay round of trade negotiations, International Organization, Vol 44, No 4, Autumn 1990 P: 600

its interests rather than strict constraints on its ability to act. As a matter of fact, for the duration of the zenith of the Fatimid Caliphate, the rapid modernization of Mohammed Ali, or the Arab Nationalism and anti-colonialism of the Nasser's epoch. Cairo has not only created a history of powerful and dynamic regional foreign policy, but it has always exhibited the will and capacity to be in the lead in both the regional and international arenas. Yet, there is a genuine truth about the Egyptian foreign policy that it has always been distinguished and defined by, two key factors, the geography and the history, and these factors have motivated comparatively centrist policy trends during the course of the consecutive Egyptian governments, even those who were generally seen as radical or reactionary.

In this framework, Geography is considered as the most important and crucial element in determining Egypt's national security and threat perceptions. The country gets hold of the historical trading crossroads of three continents of the old world and depends on a single river whose headwaters lie outside its borders for its nourishment. This interconnection and vulnerability has made Egypt exceptionally delicate, and receptive to the exploits of the external powers and shapes a pattern of stability, security, and balance in international relations.

This might give an explanation for some foreign policy actions throughout its history that hunted to protect its interests and power rather than to exert its leadership on regional concerns. Even if the deeds of the most determined Egyptian governments have been grounded in notions of security and stability, they might have wandered away from the center. For instance, Nasser's military interference in Yemen in 1962 and the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, as well as Sadat's bilateral peace treaty with Israel were recurrently quoted as negatives.

Regardless of these negatives, Egypt grasped foreign policy successes under these two late presidents. The decolonization efforts and the daring move in kicking off the October 1973 war were high points of

former Egyptian leaderships. In those occasions, the foreign policy obviously drafted or shifted away from the centrist trend as previously mentioned, it has traditionally been the result of charismatic or ambitious leaders, aspiring to embed their individual vision on the country.

In conjunction with the above mentioned geographic and personal factors or variables, the historical influence has similarly played a chief role in explaining this main stream trend in the country's foreign policy. Due to the prolonged existence of the Egyptian state thousands of years ago, the effect of history on the current policy is particularly acute. Only few states in the region have remained away from any contact with Egypt and most of them took long time to grow defined standards of interaction.

Egypt's predeterminations or presumptions, stemming from past cultural, social, and political interactions or experiences, similarly outline the present threat perceptions and interests in dealing with each of its neighbors, specifically those either alongside the River Nile or at the major trade corridors and such preconceptions will persist to contour the country's foreign policy inclinations.

In the context of these historical determinants, it might be argued that the most significant element in the development of Egypt's foreign policy during the modern epoch was the impact of European imperialism. Due to this colonial inheritance and the ensuing Cold War rivalry to manipulate the post-colonial Middle East states, the Egyptian foreign policy during the 1950s and 60s of the last century focused on fight against the threat of foreign hegemony. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that various American endeavors to impose anti-communist security regimes, such as Baghdad Pact and Eisenhower Doctrine, fueled this public fear and assisted in forming the Nasserite doctrine of Pan-Arab and African solidarity in opposition to the Western interference. In the meantime the establishment of Israel on the territory of Arab Palestine in 1948 created a new and imminent threat aspect to Egyptian

foreign policy, a matter that reinforced the notion of Egyptian-led pan-Arabism, and dedicated Cairo's security calculations around the confrontation with Tel-Aviv until the ratification of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1979.

The second significant legacy from the colonial stage was the establishment of the Suez Canal in 1869 and its consequent "nationalization" by Nasser in 1956 which led to the Suez Crisis and the trilateral aggression on Egypt. The country's ownership of a direct maritime passage between Europe and Asia helped both in the renewal of Cairo's importance at the heart of international trade, especially afterward the waning of overland commerce routes, and in boosting its contemporary status as a campaigner for the Non-Aligned Movement.

However, on the long term, the nationalization of the canal as well helped in sustaining the stability and security in the Arabian Gulf region, a foreign policy interest that assumed special importance particularly after the upsurge of Gulf oil economies to the international political eminence in the 1970s and 80s of the twentieth century. Nearly 20% of the world's oil nowadays travels all through the Gulf and a noteworthy part of that trade passes via the Red Sea. Into the bargain to this trade through this important maritime passage, Gulf States grant bilateral aid and direct investment to Egypt, as well remittances from the Egyptian labor working mainly in these oil countries totaled around \$12.6 billion just before the 2011 revolution.

For that reason, if conflicts or instability menaces the Gulf region, Egypt too can easily sense the effects. For instance, this occurred for the duration of the first and second Gulf wars, where approximately 1.4 million out of the two million Egyptian workers in Iraq left the country by 2003. This scenario has repeated itself in almost every crisis where oil prices and Suez Canal incomes, as well as tourism was adversely influenced by the insecurity in the region. Consequently, stability in the Gulf area, throughout the Middle East region has

progressively developed to be one of Egypt's paramount foreign policy priorities. This pattern has advocated itself in the strategic calculus of every key foreign policy decision.

Egypt has a natural ability to lead the Middle East toward foreign policy goals of stability, this stems not only from the country's geopolitical location, demographic weight, and military capability, but also from its notable and historic role as the core of intellectual and cultural innovation in the Arab world. In this context, it is worth pointing out that as early as the nineteenth century, Cairo has been the advance guard of the contemporary Arab political thought. Trained in both Islamic jurisprudence and European political philosophy, Egyptian intellectuals and thinkers led the way towards some of the earliest endeavors to link the Arab and Islamic principles with the notions and ideals of European modernism.

Sent overseas to learn at the famous universities of Europe, these intellects brought back the indispensable knowledge to implement Mohammed Ali's aspiring renovation plans. In addition, they brought with them the concepts of individualism and democracy that would provide the initial intellectual essences of the forthcoming anti-colonialist and Pan-Arab as well as Islamist ideologies. Building on the works of early reformers and intellectuals who introduced the concept of national self-determination, Egypt became one of the strongest generators of Arab political thought. In a few words, Egypt has provided the origin for a good number of the major Arab political movements during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

That supremacy in both the intellectual and political innovation has always been one of Egypt's utmost assets in its Arab regional environment. Throughout the 1950s and 60s Nasser was competent enough to channel this power and lead the Middle East, as well as much of Africa, in opposition to the remnants of colonialism. But when Nasser's rhetoric's terminated after Egypt's disastrous defeat by Israel

during the 1967 war, the paradigm of Arab leadership collapsed. From his part, President Sadat attempted to revitalize and reinforce Egypt's status with his determined and bold vision of a reformed Egypt and a Middle East at peace, however the unilateral character of the peace accord with Israel and his heedless pace of economic reforming keep apart both regional and domestic partners from him. While, Mubarak prided himself on averring Egypt's leadership role, but at the same time he was risk-averse and unwilling to bear the responsibilities of leadership.

Now however, as in the glory days of Pan-Arab Nationalism, the Egyptian revolutions helped in the inspiration of a new generation of Arabs to action. Egypt will once again has the chance to be in the lead in the Arab region, especially in the fields of foreign policy and relations. Egypt must lead the region rather than leave it behind, and guide its neighbors without trying to dominate them, in order to restore its proper regional and international role.

CHAPTER 2

EGYPT'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER NASSER

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Nasser: The First Republic:

The unmatched uprising that took place in Egypt in the year 2011 came to such a critical end with the arrival of the Islamist group, the Muslim Brotherhood, in power and Mohamed Morsi to become the first democratically elected ruler of the country. This change is considered as a turning point and defining moment in the history of Egypt, as the oldest and deep-rooted Islamist group has come to power after three-decade old, regime of president Hosni Mubarak, for the first time in their history and the country's as well⁵⁵.

This change seemed as if the history is going over itself in the country. In the year 1952, military commander Gamal Abdel Nasser launched what was known as "the Free Officers Movement" which revolted against the king Farouk I who reigned from 1936, to overthrow him and to establish the republican system for the first time in the country's history that lasted for more than six decades till now. Moreover, it was the first time in more than 2000 years that the country is ruled by an Egyptian. Since Nasser the Egyptian foreign policy has predominantly revolved around the certain issues, namely, achieving security and economic stability, as well as, enhancing its relations with influential states or powers in the world and the Arab and regional states. Owing to these factors, various approaches and methods were adopted not only by Nasser, but by the successive Egyptian governments to deal with these

⁵⁵ Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Middle East: A History*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971, pp.690-691.

concerns and interests according to the changing international circumstances⁽⁵⁶⁾.

In this regard, President Nasser laid the principles and the future perspectives of the Egyptian foreign policy after the 1952 revolution in his book "philosophy of the revolution" which was considered a noteworthy document in the post - revolutionary era. This book did not only highlight the basis and plans of the domestic policy of this period, but it succeeded in defining the circles of interest for the Egyptian foreign policy through analyzing the geopolitics of Egypt. Thus, the book determined the circles of movement for the Egyptian foreign policy with the founding of the first republic consecutively as the following, first the Arab circle, then the Islamic circle and finally the Afro- Asian circle⁽⁵⁷⁾.

This definition of these circles represented a great step for the future of the foreign policy during that epoch. In this framework, the Egyptian politics since the July 23rd revolution 1952 has witnessed a fundamental transformation, especially after the defeat of the Egyptian forces in the Arab-Israeli war in 1948, which was one of the key motives for the revolt against the monarchy in the country⁽⁵⁸⁾. Nasser is considered the first Egyptian ruler who laid the foundation of an independent and valiant foreign policy. Prior to him, Egypt, due to British influence, could not pursue sovereign and autonomous foreign relations. He gained confidence and trust for liberating his country from British occupation.

The signature of "Al-Galaa" or Anglo-Egyptian evacuation agreement of 1954 which provided the withdrawal of the remaining British troops from Egypt and officially terminated the chapter of British dominance in the country, was a major step in the pathway of fixating the new Egyptian republican regime. It managed to disintegrate all the traces of the pre-revolution era, it paved the way towards the formulation of a

⁵⁶ Derek Hopwood, *Egypt Politics and Society 1945-1981* George Allen & Unwin, London: 1982, pp. 34-36.

⁵⁷ *Philosophy of the revolution*, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Falsafet El Thawra, state information authority, 1955).

⁵⁸ Mustafa Al-Feki, 'Egypt Is Poised to Resume Role in Regional and World Affairs', *Al-Monitor*, 6 October 2012

new completely independent foreign policy for Egypt under Nasser's regime⁽⁵⁹⁾.

The previously mentioned evacuation treaty was a step that opened the door for Egypt to emerge as a vital and significant political actor in the Middle East region and Arab world. From his part, Nasser since the beginning embraced an anti-West approach to face the western imperialist policies, since his country was deeply frustrated by the pro-Israel policy of the West⁽⁶⁰⁾. Egypt has always deemed Israel as a dangerous direct threat to its national security and the augmenting western support for Israel made the Egyptian leadership more uncomfortable. Consequently, and immediately after the 1952 revolution, Cairo concentrated on the solidification of its armed forces to counterbalance Israel's military capabilities⁽⁶¹⁾.

Pan Arab Nationalism:

In his attempt to expand the horizon of the Egyptian foreign policy after he came to power in 1954, Nasser started to shift dramatically to the Arab world, his first circle of interest. He promoted Arab unity in opposition to Israeli aggression and initiated a movement of Arab nationalism⁽⁶²⁾. In this regard, it is worth to mention that this Arab oriented trend in the Egyptian foreign policy was emphasized even in the first post-revolutionary Egyptian constitution that was ratified in 1956, as it stated that Egypt is an Arab country and its official language is Arabic and it mainly belongs to its Arab region or sphere. President Nasser believed that it was the natural geographical and historical extension of Egypt, that can't be ignored⁽⁶³⁾.

⁵⁹ Gamal Abdel Nasser, multiple angular vision, Royaa motadedat el zawaya, 2008, Ahmed Sharaf and others, Arab book house, p: 449-460).

⁶⁰ Hani Eman, 'The Arab-American Relations: A historical perspective', Arab News, 4 August 2002.

⁶¹ Said K. Aburish. 2004. Nasser: The Last Arab, New York: St. Martin's Press; Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (Eds). 2001. (The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948, NY: Cambridge University Press: p.170.)

⁶² Adeed Dawisha, Requiem for Arab Nationalism, Middle East Quarterly, Winter 2003, pp. 25-41.

⁶³ Searching for the status, the dilemma of the Egyptian external role, in Arabic al Bahth Aan Al Makana, Eshkaliet Al Dor Almasry al Khareigy, October, 2014, Arab center for research and studies).

Among the most important goals of the July 1952, revolution was the abolition of the colonialism from the whole Arab region and the extinction of the pro- imperialism domestic forces. Thus, in this regard he started to help the liberation movements across the entire region, from North Africa in Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, until Iraq, Jordan and Syria in the Levant. Yet, the utmost significant measure was when he decided to directly intervene in Yemen. Nasser aspired at exporting Egypt's revolution to other Arab countries and in this context Cairo sent its army to Yemen in the year 1962 to combat against pro-West government forces⁶⁴. This intervention aimed to help Yemeni army officers to overthrow the deep-rooted monarchy in the country and establish an Egyptian-style republic⁽⁶⁵⁾.

The Pan Arabism and socialism notions were purely displayed in the support and solidarity that all the Arab governments and peoples showed during the Suez Crisis in the year 1956 -that will be discussed in the later- and its consequence of the trilateral aggression after Nasser decided to nationalize the Suez Canal. This decision came as a direct response to the refusal of the High Dam finance from the part of the United States. Hence, the Arab states convened a summit in Beirut to express their consolidation with Nasser in his crisis. Moreover, the pipelines carrying the oil from the Gulf to the ports in the Mediterranean up to Europe were blown-up, a matter which caused a huge energy crisis in the European countries especially with the beginning of the winter⁽⁶⁶⁾.

Then again the concepts of Pan Arab nationalism and socialism were reflected when a very imperative step took place in 1958 with the founding of The United Arab Republic (UAR). It was a short-lived political union between both countries, which existed only for two years, when Damascus pulled out after the 1961 coup d'état that took place in

⁶⁴ Derek Hopwood, *Egypt Politics and Society 1945-1981*(London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), pp. 64-65

⁶⁵ Abd Al-Aziz Al-Muqalih. 1986. *Abdel Nasser and Yemen: Chapters from the History of the Yemeni Revolution* (in Arabic), Fosol Men Tarekh Al Thawra al Yamaniah, Dar al-Hadatha.)

⁶⁶ Arthur Mark wiesburd, *Use of Force: The Practice of States Since World War II*, Penn State Press, 1997, p.33).

Syria⁽⁶⁷⁾. However, Egypt continued to be officially known as the "United Arab Republic" until 1971, and the Egyptian president ruled the union.

From his part president Nasser thought that this union could be a first step towards a larger pan-Arab state, the UAR was created when a group of political and military leaders in Syria, namely of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party proposed merging the two states. The sentiment of pan Arabism traditionally was very intense and deep in Syria; as well, Nasser was a popular hero-figure throughout the entire Arab world, especially in after the Suez crisis in 1956. Therefore, there was substantial popular support in Damascus for the creation of the union with Cairo⁽⁶⁸⁾.

On the other hand, among his efforts to secure the concepts of the Pan Arabism and to demonstrate his country's influence and power all the way through the whole Arab world, Nasser set up a plan or a strategy to connect the entire region. Thus, he decided to launch a radio station under the name of voice of Arabs, in Arabic "Sawt Al Arab", which gorged on the Arab nationalism in its daily broadcasts, thrilling audience throughout the entire Arab speaking region from the Atlantic ocean to the Arab gulf and Levant.

In 1954, it declared on air that "the Voice of the Arabs speaks for the Arabs, struggles for them and expresses their unity". Also, the programming was characterized by an anti-colonial tone and a rejection of Western imperialism, so the voice of the Arabs was "in the service of the Arab nation and its struggle against Western imperialism in the Arab

⁶⁷ Elie Podah, *The Decline of Arab Unity: The Rise and Fall of the United Arab Republic*, The Decline of Arab Unity: The Rise and Fall of the United Arab Republic, p.148-151.

⁶⁸James P. Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic*, Lynne Rienner publishings, 2002, p.101-115

world⁽⁶⁹⁾. Consequently, the Voice of the Arabs performed as Nasser's main vehicle for the propagation of his Pan-Arabism ideas and beliefs⁽⁷⁰⁾.

The African Circle:

As for the African dimension it is worth mentioning that regardless of the long-lasting relationship between Egypt and Africa throughout the history, yet the 1952 revolution succeeded in re-discovering the importance and vitality of the continent for Egypt, which is also considered together with the Arab region as its natural extension⁷¹. The July revolution stressed its commitment to the African continent, this principal remained very clear in the revolution's foreign policy on both the continental and international levels. This policy rested on very strong pillars as the political cooperation, defending the continent's problems, as well as supporting the African revolutionists in their independence battles⁽⁷²⁾.

In order to play this role in the continent, president Nasser took into his account many determinates that helped Egypt to master this task among them, the importance of Egypt on the regional level for its geographical and political situation (geopolitics) together with all the other sources of power⁽⁷³⁾.

In that sense, it is worth to be noted that Egypt during Nasser's era succeeded to play an effective role in Africa, through helping the liberation movements throughout the whole continent that has been under occupation, except for only three countries, Liberia, South Africa, and

⁶⁹ Adeed dawisha, Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair, Princeton University Press, 2009, p.147-159).

⁷⁰ Cull, Nicholas J; Culbert, David H. & Welch, David, 2003, Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present, ABC-CLIO, p.16)

⁷¹Hani Raslan, July policies, 50 years after revolution, Syasat Uolio Khamson Aam Ala Althawraal Ahram center for strategic and political studies, 2002.

⁷² Shawki el Gammal and Abdallah Abdel Razek, Egypt modern history, Tarekh Masr Almoaser, Dar Al Thakafa for publishing and distribution , 1997, p:112-113)

⁷³ Hani Raslan, July policies, 50 years after revolution, Syasat Uolio Khamson Aam ala Althawra al Ahram center for strategic and political studies, 2002.,

Ethiopia besides Egypt of course. Afterwards, a wave of national liberation started in Tunisia and Morocco in 1956, then Ghana 1957, followed by Guinea in 1958, yet this wave has been followed by another bigger and more extendable waves included Cameroon, Togo, and Chad, as well as Congo, Zaire (democratic republic of Congo). This wave was succeeded by a second wave by the independence of Benin, Senegal, and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), as well as Niger, Gabon, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Nigeria, Mauritania, Tanganyika (Tanzania) in 1961. The third wave came when Malawi, and Swaziland gained their freedom in 1968, till the number of independent states in the seventies of the last century was more than 50 countries⁽⁷⁴⁾.

Additionally, Egypt was keen to establish diplomatic relations with African countries immediately after gaining their independence and in 1956, a department for African affairs was established in the ministry of foreign affairs. Moreover, on the military level Egypt was the first country that opened its doors to train the liberation movements in many African countries as Angola and Mozambique, also the military school in Cairo received African personnel who formed the core of the national armies in a later stage. Furthermore, Nasser provided them with arms they needed to the extent that he was willing to participate in some fighting operations⁽⁷⁵⁾

Also, Cairo depended on the radio broadcasting to support the liberation movement as it established during the period between 1954 and 1968 nearly 18 radio broadcasting stations in different languages including the national languages to encourage the African societies to resist the colonization⁽⁷⁶⁾.

⁷⁴Egypt modern history, Tarekh Masr Almoaser, Shawki el Gammal and Abdallah Abdel Razeq, Dar al Thakafa for publishing and distribution , 1997, p:117-118

⁷⁵Mohamed Fayek, Abdel Nasser and the African revolution, Abdel Nasser Wa Al Thawra Alafrikya, Al Hayaa Alama Lksoor Althkafa, 2002, p:50-51.

⁷⁶ Shawki El Gammal, Egypt's role in Africa in the modern era, Dor Masr Fi Afrykia Fi Alasr Alhadyth, Cairo, Alhayaa Alama Lketab, 1984, p:195-199 .

Furthermore, Nasser's regime realized that achieving independence was not the ultimate goal for the African countries and the more important step was achieving the economic independence, and make the utmost of its huge natural and human resources to reach a comprehensive economic development⁽⁷⁷⁾. In this context, in March 1962 was agreed to sign seven agreements to achieve unity and cooperation among the African countries including establishment of common African market launching the freedoms of work accommodation transfer between its citizens. Besides removing all customs formulating African financial institution alongside with the establishment of African bank in 1965 with the capital of 500 million \$⁽⁷⁸⁾.

In addition, Nasser adopted this economic policy towards Africa to accomplish two main goals, namely resisting the Israeli activity in the continent at that time as tel - Aviv succeeded in infiltrating through some African countries as Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Ethiopia. While the second goal was to open up economic opportunities for Cairo⁽⁷⁹⁾. In return, Egypt reacted to these to these steps of Israel so it started to give economic aid to some African countries to be used in reconstruction and building projects, though they were in small amounts of money, yet they played very important role in saving some countries from severe economic crises, this policy proved the Egypt was always supportive. Finally, all these efforts were crowned by the founding of the "organization of African unity in 1963 at that time which turned in 2002, to be the African union in Addis Ababa⁽⁸⁰⁾.

⁷⁷Mohamed Elgebaly, the common African market between politics and economy, Al Souq Al Afrikyia Al Moshtraka Bein al Siyassa Wa Alektesad, Al Dar Al Kawmeya for printing and publishing, 1964, p:13.

⁷⁸ Shawki el Gammal and Abdallah Abdel Razek Egypt modern history, Tarekh Masr Almoaser, Dar al Thakafa for publishing and distribution, 1997, p:125-126

⁷⁹ Mohamed Fayek ,Abdel Nasser and the African revolution, Abdel Nasser Wa Al Thawra Alafrikyia, al Hayaa Alama Lksoor Althkafa, 2002, p:64-69.

⁸⁰ Africa's modern and contemporary history, in Arabic, Tarekh Afrikyia Alhadeth Wal Moaser, part 2, 2004, p:758-759

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM):

As mentioned before one of the foreign policy circles focused on the third world countries namely African, Asian and Latin American nations, especially that the post 1952 era came together with the emergence of the notions and ideas of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, and in the meantime this period witnessed the development concepts of nationalism and socialism⁽⁸¹⁾.

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was created to form an umbrella for the third world countries, who refused to be under the patronage of the world's superpowers at that time, namely the United States and Soviet Union. Nasser along with India's Nehru and Indonesia's Sukarno as well as Yugoslavia's Tito, launched the movement during the Bandung conference that was held in 1955 with the participation of 29 countries, where the Egyptian president declared that the positive neutralism will be a main feature of his country's foreign policy⁽⁸²⁾. Thus, this conference represented a major pivot in the world's history during the 20th century, as it witnessed the inauguration of the non-aligned movement, in which Nasser's played a very important role in its consolidation later on. This movement enabled Egypt to play a bigger and more effective role not only in the region but also on the Asian and African levels⁽⁸³⁾.

On the international levels, the superpowers reacted to the founding of the new movement. From its part, the U.S. started to put some pressure on Egypt to step back from the alliance. However, and despite all these trials both countries reached the point of no return. Egypt was determined to stand for its position and, as a result, the Washington withdrew its promised economic aid to finance the establishment of the

⁸¹Ahmed Sharaf and others, Gamal Abdel Nasser, multiple angular vision, Royaa Motadedat el Zawaya, 2008, Arab book house, p: 449-460

⁸² Anne Alexander, Nasser, , Haus Publishing, 2005, p.110.

⁸³Abdel Nasser and after, Abdel Nasser Wama Baad, the Arab institute for studies and publishing, 1980, Beirut, p: 202.

high dam in Aswan. On the other hand, the Soviet Union seized this chance to further boost its impact and influence in Egypt and pledged to assist in the construction of the grand project of the dam⁽⁸⁴⁾.

Moreover, the non-aligned policy in the Egyptian foreign policy has transformed from being just some stands or positions towards certain cases to be a trend or a basic principle in Cairo's foreign policy after 1952. In that context, it is worth mentioning that president Nasser declared in July 1954 that the next goal after gaining the full independence with the evacuation of the British troops from the country was staying away from the engagement in any alliances or camps⁽⁸⁵⁾.

In this framework, the founding of the non-aligned movement during this period was correlated with some important developments that took place on the international arena, during the course of the struggle between the eastern and western camps; these developments were directly related to the Middle East region. these occurrences involved the creation of military pacts, namely the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) originally known as Baghdad Pact which was formed in 1955, by Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, turkey, and the United Kingdom⁽⁸⁶⁾.The formation of the pact was taken by Egypt as a challenge to its leading role in the Middle East region, as well Nasser might have perceived this step as a devaluation or depreciation of its key status in the region from the part of both the united states and United Kingdom⁽⁸⁷⁾.

Moreover, Nasser thought that these military and security pacts in the region represent a threat to the security of the Arab countries, so he violently opposed them. What is more, it could be argued that the Egyptian president was concerned that this pact would bring back the British

⁸⁴Asit K. Biswas & Cecilia Tortajada, 'Development and Large Dams: A Global Perspective', Water Resource Development, Vol. 17, No.1, pp. 9-21.

⁸⁵Nabil Abdel Fattah, July policies, 50 years after revolution, Syasat Uolio Khamson Aam Ala Althawra, Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 2002

⁸⁶Encyclopedia of the Developing World, Vol.1, Thomas M. Leonard, 2005, p.310.

⁸⁷Behçet Kemal Yeşilbursa, The Baghdad Pact: Anglo-American Defense Policies in the Middle East, 1950-1959, Psychology Press, 2005, p.90

influence back to the region. on the other hand, he believed that the Baghdad pact might intimidate and undermine the Egyptian role as a result of the competition that would emerge with its traditional rival Iraq. Therefore, Nasser violently opposed the pact not only on the Arab level within the League of Arab States (LAS), but he also took the case to a wider audience which is the members of the Non- Aligned movement during their reunion in Bandung. During the meeting he declared his clear refusal for the establishment of this kind of alliances in the middle east region, a matter which would serve only the interests of superpowers⁽⁸⁸⁾.

Relations With The Soviet Union:

The ties with the Soviet Union has been transformed from negative to positive relations in the beginning of the year 1954, and it is argued that the alterations in these relations can be attributed to the developments that took place during this period of time. For instance, the emergence of the non- aligned movement which will be discussed later, and the breakdown of the occidental arms manipulation in Egypt after the British withdrawal contributed a lot in the enhancement of these connections. The Egyptian historian Mohamed Hassanein Heikal mentioned that the Egyptian- soviet relationship has witnessed many fluctuations since the beginning of the 1952 revolution. Yet, it calmed down and stabilized finally after 1955⁽⁸⁹⁾.

Historically, the diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union was officially inaugurated in august 1943. The Cooperation between Moscow and Cairo was launched by the first economic agreement signed in 1948, according to which the Soviet Union exported grain, timber and other goods in exchange for Egyptian cotton. Furthermore, during the 1950-60s of the last century, the Egyptian- Soviet partnership was at its uttermost. Thousands of Soviet experts were sent off to Egypt to help in modernizing

⁸⁸ Salim Yaqub, *Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East*, , UNC Press Books, 2004, p.38-39.

⁸⁹ Mohamed Hassanein Heikal, *the story of soviet with Egypt, "kesset el soviet ma masr"*, Dar al thakafa el gedida , 1983, p:146-147.

the country's infrastructure. Those specialists contributed to the establishment of many factories as, the Iron and Steel factories in Helwan and Aluminum complex in Upper Egypt, as well they assisted in the founding of grand infrastructure projects among them the High Dam in Aswan and setting up the electricity networks between Alexandria and Aswan. Meanwhile, a number of Egyptian students in all fields were having their education in Soviet universities and institutes⁽⁹⁰⁾.

However, on the level of the military relations with Soviet Union, it is worth to be noted that those ties started in the year 1955, by a visit of a military delegation to Czechoslovakia, a Soviet satellite country that was affiliated at that time to Communist or Eastern camp. This visit resulted in the conclusion of an agreement to provide all the Egyptian army's demands. Thus, the agreement included the purchase of 200 tanks, 150 arterially pieces, 120 fighters, 50 bombers, 2 destroys, 2 submarines, and thousands of rifles and automatic weapons. This deal was a mixture between Czech and soviet arms, and it provided Moscow with a great opportunity to prove that it is still capable of pursuing its influence in the middle east region, despite all the American and British relentless efforts to keep it out from the region⁽⁹¹⁾.

Thus, this step in particular was considered as a turning point in these strategic relations between the two countries as it paved the way towards founding such strong ties between Moscow and Cairo until this very recent moment. Following this agreement Egypt succeeded to conclude two deals, one with Poland another satellite soviet country, to buy naval equipment and the other one was in 1956 to complete the very first agreement that was signed in 1954⁽⁹²⁾. Yet, the peak of the relations between Nasser's regime and the USSR, has been witnessed after the 1967

⁹⁰History of Russian- Egyptian relations, embassy of the Russian federation to the Arab republic of Egypt, <http://www.egypt.mid.ru/eng/hist/Index.html>.

⁹¹Steven. A. Cook, the struggle for Egypt, from Nasser to Tahrir square, American university in Cairo, 2012, p.66

⁹²Mohamed Hassanein Heikal, the story of soviets with Egypt, "Kesset El Soviet Ma Masr", Dar al Thakafa El Gedida, 1983, p:95-97.

defeat, when he asked Moscow to supply him with defense systems to be installed throughout the Suez Canal to protect Egypt from the Israeli raids.

Shortly before the launch of the war of attrition, Nasser decided to visit Moscow to ask them to establish an air defense system to be operated by Soviet pilots and an antiaircraft force to be protected by Soviet troops. In order to gain the Soviet Union support and assistance for his country, Nasser had to grant Moscow control over a number of Egyptian airfields as well as operational command over a large division of the Egyptian army. Moreover, The Soviet Union sent between 10,000 and 15,000 Soviet troops and advisers to Cairo, and Soviet pilots flew combat missions.

Furthermore, a screen of Surface-To-Air Missiles (SAMs) was set up, and Soviet pilots joined Egyptian ones in patrolling Egyptian air space⁽⁹³⁾. In the Aftermath of the June 1967 War, Moscow bestowed aid to Cairo to substitute the smashed up military gear and to rebuild the armed forces. Nonetheless, by sending troops and advisers to Egypt and pilots to fly combat missions, the Soviet Union took a calculated risk of possible superpower confrontation over the Middle East.

Relations with the United States:

Nasser's ties with the United States during the 1950's were generally turbulent. In the beginning of that decade in the aftermath of July 1952 revolution, Washington helped out Egypt to conclude its evacuation treaty with the United Kingdom that ended the British presence in the country, not only this but it offered military and economic help. Yet, soon after the relations between both states soured, when Cairo refused to get along with Washington plans to create a North Atlantic Treaty

⁹³ bassam, Tibi Conflict and War in the Middle East: From Interstate War to New Security, Springer, Sep 28, 1998 p.104.

Organization (NATO) like type of security and military pacts in the Middle East⁽⁹⁴⁾.

From its part, the United States aspired that Nasser would cooperate with it to contain the soviet influence in the Middle East, and to build the regional stability by accomplishing peace with Israel. However, Nasser rejected to join the Washington backed defence schemes, as the Middle East Defence Organization (MEDO) and the Baghdad pact⁽⁹⁵⁾. Moreover, many other factors that came all together as, Nasser's recognition of the People's Republic of China, opposition to the French occupation, and the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact as well as the Israeli raid on the Gaza Strip in the beginning of the year 1955 in vengeance for raids into Israel. All these events marked the end of Nasser's once good relations with Washington⁽⁹⁶⁾.

Regardless of the Egyptian anti-West policies, Washington did not stop convincing the Egyptian leadership to join their camp. Thus, the Eisenhower administration offered Cairo an economic assistance programme worth \$ 56 million for the construction of the mega project of the High Dam in Aswan, in favour of reaching a peace settlement with Tel- Aviv. This project was the central component of Egypt's never-ending quest for modernization. Constructing this dam was going to be the initial step toward bringing Egypt into the modern world and to save its suffering economy as well. Yet, that initiative failed to end the mistrust between Egypt and the West⁽⁹⁷⁾.

In this regard, is race in the Middle East set off by the Soviet Union vending Egypt arms and with France doing the same with Israel, which he saw as opening the region to Soviet influence. The American

⁹⁴Peter L. Hahn, *Historical Dictionary of United States-Middle East Relations*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2016, p.92-93.

⁹⁵Gaddis, John Lewis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*, Clarendon Press, 1997, p.167.

⁹⁶Sayed-Ahmed, Mohammad Abd Al-Wahab "Relations between Egypt and the United States of American in the 1950s", pp. 89-99 (Charles Tripp, *Contemporary Egypt: through Egyptian eyes* , Routledge London, 1993, pp. 91-92.

⁹⁷Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Middle East: A History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971, p. 709-710).

president Eisenhower launched a huge effort to create peace between Cairo and Tel -Aviv, through several rounds of secret diplomacy, where he offered Nasser American assistance in exchange for a peace treaty with Israel⁽⁹⁸⁾. From his part, Nasser called for the return of Palestinian refugees and rejected direct talks with Israel⁽⁹⁹⁾.

When the U.S. found that Nasser and Israeli Prime Minister Ben Gurion were ultimately unable and unwilling to reach a peace agreement, President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles plumped for pressuring Nasser in a number of hidden means, particularly in promoting relations with his traditional regional Arab rivals in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Libya. The U.S. gauged that Nasser, confronted by the possibility that the other Arab states were aligning with the West, would find himself with only one powerful ally, the Soviet Union⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. Consequently, the occurrences developed dramatically with the American administration withdrawing its offer to finance the dam establishment, a matter which led to the eruption of the Suez crisis⁽¹⁰¹⁾.

The Suez Crisis or The Tripartite Aggression:

The withdrawal of Washington's assistance offers built up domestic pressure on Nasser a matter which drove him to take the historical step of the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company on the 26th of July 1956, and he closed the canal and Tiran straits in front of the Israeli shipping. he decided to use the income of the Canal to build the dam, yet the Nationalization of the Canal worsened the situation⁽¹⁰²⁾.

It is believed that the Suez Crisis is considered as a major turning point in the modern history not only for Egypt and the region but for the

⁹⁸Neff, Donald Warriors at Suez, Simon & Schuster: New York, 1981 pp. 130–131.

⁹⁹Isaac Alteras, Eisenhower and Israel: U.S.-Israeli Relations, 1953-1960, University Press of Florida, 1993, p.165-166.

¹⁰⁰ The U.S. and Egypt Since the Suez Crisis, Trudy Kuehner, July 2009, <http://www.fpri.org/article/2009/07/the-u-s-and-egypt-since-the-suez-crisis/>.

¹⁰¹ Kissinger, Henry , Diplomacy. Simon & Schuster, New York, 1994, p.529.

¹⁰²<http://www.suezcanal.gov.eg/Files/Suez%20Canal%20Company%20Nationalization%20Law.pdf>.

whole world, as it pushed both the United Kingdom and France with Israel in the frontline to launch an attack on Egypt. The famous Egyptian writer and analyst Mohamed Hassanein Heikal mentioned that the main features of the political map of the world nowadays has been drawn during the Suez crisis in 1956, as it had serious implications on all involved parties⁽¹⁰³⁾.

From the part of the United Kingdom, the nationalization decision represented a surprise for the British government, because of its negative implications on the country's economic and military interests in the region. Therefore, Eden's government decided in favor of military intervention against Egypt to evade the downfall of British reputation in the region⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. On the other hand, The French government, supported by its public opinion were enormously annoyed by Nasser's step, and they decided that he would not get his way, this attitude was heavily attached to Nasser's assistance to the Algerian liberation movements in their battle against the French occupation. In addition, the French government was worried from the growing influence that Nasser exerted on its North African colonies and protectorates⁽¹⁰⁵⁾. Therefore, the French Cabinet decided upon military action against Egypt in alliance with Israel, it informed London of its decision, and invited the British government to combine their forces. Both Britain and France were eager that the Suez Canal should remain open as an important conduit of oil, so they wanted to remove Nasser from power⁽¹⁰⁶⁾.

As for Israel, it wanted to re-open the Straits of Tiran heading to the Gulf of Aqaba ahead of Israeli navigation, and set eyes on the chance to fortify its southern border and to wear off what it perceived as a threatening and intimidating country. This impression was predominantly

¹⁰³Mohamed Hassanein Heikal, the Suez story, the last battle in the Gargantuans' Era,, 1977, p:12-13, in Arabic, Keset Alsues, Akher Al Maarek Fi Asr Alamaleka.

¹⁰⁴ Eayrs, James The Commonwealth and Suez: A Documentary Survey, 1964, Oxford University Press.

¹⁰⁵ Radhika Withana, Power, Politics, Law: International Law and State Behavior During International Crises, Brill, 2008,

¹⁰⁶Keith Kyle, Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East, I.B. Tauris, 2003, pp. 144.

considered because of the attacks arising from the Egyptian-held Gaza Strip at that period. What is more, Tel-Aviv was deeply troubled by Egypt's procurement of large amounts of Soviet weaponry, as this huge influx of such advanced armaments would contribute to the alteration of the already unstable balance of power in the Middle East region⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. Furthermore, Israel was enormously distressed by the Czech arms deal concluded by Cairo, as it assumed that it only had a limited space to hit the Egyptian army⁽¹⁰⁸⁾.

The military attack intended for taking control of the Suez Canal, Gaza Strip, and parts of Sinai, was a real tragedy from a political standpoint that led to affronted international and diplomatic reactions in the whole world not only in the Arab region. For instance, In Syria, the Kirkuk-Baniyas pipeline that transport the oil to reach tankers in the Mediterranean was blown up to cut Britain off from one of its main routes of the oil⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. Moreover, Saudi Arabia imposed a full oil embargo on Britain and France⁽¹¹⁰⁾. On the level of the American diplomacy, the Eisenhower administration assumed that if the United States complied with the attack on Egypt, the consequential repercussions in the Arab world might win the Arabs over to the Soviet Union. Thus, it urged Israel to withdraw from Gaza strip and Sinai, but Tel-Aviv refused a matter that pushed Washington to seek UN-backed efforts to impose economic sanctions on Israel until it fully withdrew from Egyptian territory⁽¹¹¹⁾.

On 30th of October, the Security Council held a meeting, at the request of the United States, when it submitted a draft resolution calling upon Israel to withdraw immediately behind the established armistice lines, but it was not taken on because of British and French rejections. In less than 24 hours, both Paris and London embarked on an air attack

¹⁰⁷ Chaim Herzog and Shlomo Gazit, *The Arab-Israeli wars: War and peace in the Middle East from the 1948 War of Independence to the present*, 3rd ed. 2008, pp. 113–117.

¹⁰⁸ Hazem Kandil, *Soldiers, Spies, and Statesmen: Egypt's Road to Revolt*, 2012, Verso Books, p.47 .

¹⁰⁹ Turner, Barry *Suez* 1956, Hodder & Stoughton, 2006, p. 328.

¹¹⁰ Lacey, Robert , *The Kingdom*, New York: Avon 1981, p. 315.

¹¹¹ Varble, Derek *The Suez Crisis 1956*. London, 2003, Osprey , p.88.

against targets in Egypt, which was shortly pursued by a landing of their troops at the northern end of the Canal Zone. Consequently, and due to the escalating situation and with lack of unanimity among the permanent members, the Security Council passed Resolution 119 that calls for the convening of the first emergency special session for the General Assembly, according to the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, with the purpose of attaining proper counsels to end the warfare⁽¹¹²⁾.

In view of that, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), adopted Washington's proposal for Resolution 997, which demanded an immediate truce, and the withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines, and an arms embargo, as well as the reopening of the Suez Canal, which was still impassable. On the other hand, The Secretary-General was requested to report promptly on the conformity of those decisions to both the Security Council and General Assembly. Furthermore, the emergency special session embraced a number of resolutions, which established the first United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), in the history of the UN on 7th of November by Resolution 1001⁽¹¹³⁾.

The Soviet Union played an important role in the Suez crisis, especially when the soviet government was threatening military intervention in this conflict on the Egyptian side, a matter that was extensively deemed at the time to have forced a ceasefire⁽¹¹⁴⁾. As a result, the reputation and stature of Moscow rose highly not only in Egypt, but also in the Arab world and the Third World, and Nasser expressed his gratitude and appreciation for the soviet leaders and government for their support to the Egyptian position⁽¹¹⁵⁾.

as for Egypt this crisis revealed the power of the Egyptians themselves in defending their land against this aggression of the three

¹¹²http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/3354&Lang=E

¹¹³ <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unef1backgr2.html>

¹¹⁴ Benjamin, Frankel, *A Restless Mind: Essays in Honor of Amos Perlmutter*, Psychology Press, 1996, p.105.

¹¹⁵ Gaddis, John Lewis. *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, p.173.

powers, not only but at this specific moment the whole Arab world realized that the real power was the people's power. Moreover, Nasser came into sight as an enhanced leader in the Arab world, as many Arabs regarded him as the vanquisher of European colonialism and Zionism. On the other hand, for the west this crisis revealed that the United Kingdom and France are no more the great powers or empires as their roles started to fade away, with the emergence of the United States as a new power in the Middle East region. As for the USSR, it went out from the international isolation, and started to appear as a main player in the Middle East region, which became the center of the international confrontations on all levels politically, economically and culturally⁽¹¹⁶⁾.

In the Aftermath the end of the Suez crisis, Egypt agreed to re-open the Suez Canal in front of the international navigation and the United Kingdom reached a decision to pay the charges in sterling pounds. The frozen funds had been emancipated and Israel had to take out its forces from the Sinai Peninsula after the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) deployed its militaries. The politics in the Middle East region dramatically transformed, especially with the power vacuum that emerged with the decline of the British and French influence in the region, a matter that opened the door towards a new round of cold war, as it put both the United States and the Soviet Union in a direct confrontation. In this regard, the American president Eisenhower launched his famous doctrine known as "Eisenhower doctrine", which avows that any Middle Eastern country could request American economic assistance or aid from U.S. military forces if it was being threatened by armed aggression from another state⁽¹¹⁷⁾.

What's more, the American president pulled out the Soviet intimidation in his doctrine by approving the commitment of

¹¹⁶Mohamed Hassanein Heikal, the story of soviets with Egypt, "Kesset el soviet ma Masr", Dar al Thakafa el Gedida, 1983, p:33-51.

¹¹⁷Ray, Takeyh The Origins of the Eisenhower Doctrine: The US, Britain and Nasser's Egypt, Springer, Mar 23, 2000 - p.152.

U.S. forces to protect the territorial integrity and political independence of those countries, requesting such assistance against evident armed aggression from any state that is maneuvered by the communism. Thus, he committed about \$200 million for economic and military assistance in each of the years 1958 and 1959. It is argued that the Doctrine intended to arrange for an alternative to the independent Arab regimes versus Nasser's political control, through strengthening them whilst isolating the Communist impact by insulating the influence of the Egyptian president. Nevertheless, it failed on that front, for the reason that Nasser's power rapidly mounted by 1959 to the point where he could shape the leadership outcomes in neighboring Arab capitals, including Baghdad and Riyadh.

The 1967 Defeat

The June 1967 War or as known in the Egyptian narratives as the "setback", erupted between Egypt and its neighboring states Jordan, and Syria from one side against Israel, owing to the deteriorated relations between Tel-Aviv and those countries since the first Arab- Israeli War in 1948. During the phase, prior to this war the strains and dreads among all parties exceptionally mounted as a result of minor clashes on between the Arabs and Israel on the borders. However, in April 1967 the and in reaction to Israeli attacks on Syria, the Egyptian forces according to the mutual defense treaty signed between the two countries in 1966, were deployed along the Israeli border in the Sinai Peninsula⁽¹¹⁸⁾.

What is more, Nasser demanded the withdrawal of the emergency forces stationed in Sinai since the Suez Crisis⁽¹¹⁹⁾. In May 1967 announced a blockade of Israel's access to the Red Sea considered by Israel an act of war. He denied the Israeli vessel access to the Straits of Tiran despite knowing it might very likely provide Israel with the trigger it

¹¹⁸Awrych, George W. The Albatross of Decisive Victory: War and Policy Between Egypt and Israel in the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli Wars, Greenwood Press, 2000, p.5.

¹¹⁹ Major General Indarjit Rikhye, The Sinai Blunder: Withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force Leading, Routledge, 2013, p.156.

needed to launch war⁽¹²⁰⁾. During the same month, Nasser received information from the Soviet Union about Israeli concentrations on the Syrian borders.

Consequently, Tel-Aviv launched a series of preventive or preemptive airstrikes against Egyptian airfields, and at the same time, embarked on a ground offensive into both Sinai and Gaza Strip. Therefore, the army was taken by surprise, and almost the whole Egyptian air force was devastated. Israeli forces rushed westward in the depth of Sinai after Nasser's ordered to evacuate it⁽¹²¹⁾. On the other hand, both Syria and Jordan began to attack Tel-Aviv, however the Israeli counterattacks resulted in the confiscation of East Jerusalem and the West Bank from the Jordanians, as well as occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights.

The political importance of the 1967 War was immense; Israel showed that it was able to initiate strategic attacks that could change the regional balance. Both Cairo and Damascus learned tactical lessons that enabled them later to undergo the 1973 war to reclaim their lost territory. Alternatively, the Egyptian defeat in the 1967 war or the setback, unveiled may major limitations in Nasser's foreign policy. In this framework it is worth to mention that the military intervention in Yemen not only drained Egypt financially and trapped around 65,000 to 70,000 of its troops at the time of war with Israel but it also led to the loss of the Arab world's support, especially Saudi Arabia⁽¹²²⁾.

Moreover, and as a direct result of the withdrawal of the UNEF, a significant part of the Egyptian army had to be deployed at a fast pace in Sinai a matter that triggered off supply and management difficulties. In addition, Nasser disregarded the advice of his military officers as well as

¹²⁰ Ian. J. Bikerton, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History*, Reaktion Books, 2009, p.111.

¹²¹ Ephraim Kahana, Muhammad Suwaed, *Historical Dictionary of Middle Eastern Intelligence*, Scarecrow Press, 2009, p.283.

¹²² Jesse ferris, *Nasser's Gamble: How Intervention in Yemen Caused the Six-Day War and the Decline of Egyptian Power*, Princeton University Press, 2013, P. 289-290.

the defence Minister who pushed him to go for first strike, and instead of that, he relied heavily on Soviet advice to refrain from launching a pre-emptive strike against Israel. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolution number 242 known also as "Land for peace" that was adopted in November of the same year created a ceasefire, but in reality Israel did not pull out from Sinai that has been occupied during the 1967 war. This resolution is considered as one of the most widely affirmed resolutions on the Arab–Israeli conflict, which formed the basis for later negotiations between the involved states. It led to conclusion of Peace Treaties between Israel and Egypt in 1979 and Jordan in 1994, as well as the Oslo 1993 and 1995 accords with the Palestinians.

From his part, Nasser admitted his responsibility for the military defeat in June 1967, and he decided to resign from his position as a president of the country in a radio broadcast, but he backpedalled under an immense popular pressure from the side of the Egyptian people⁽¹²³⁾. After the defeat and during the Arab summit that was held in Khartoum in September of the same year, Nasser restored his relations with the oil Gulf States and they pledged financial support to Cairo, additionally, they agreed for the "Three No's", formula which rejects the any kind of negotiations, peace or even the recognition of Israel⁽¹²⁴⁾.

On the other hand, Nasser believed that the military skirmishes would force Israel and the international community to smooth the progress of a full Israeli withdrawal from Sinai. This primarily took the form of restricted artillery combats and small-scale incursions into the depth of the occupied land of Sinai Peninsula that lasted for couple of years. However, by the year 1969 the Armed forces believed that it was geared up to undertake larger-scale operations. Hence, in March of the same year, Nasser announced the official launch of the famous War of

¹²³ David W. Del Testa, *Government Leaders, Military Rulers and Political Activists*, Routledge, 2014, p.132.

¹²⁴ Edward R. Kantowicz, *Coming Apart, Coming Together*, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2000 p.368

Attrition, which was characterized by wide-ranging shelling along the Suez Canal, along with extensive aerial warfare and commando raids⁽¹²⁵⁾.

In face of these developments, the international community and both Cairo and Tel- Aviv endeavored to achieve a political solution for the ongoing dispute. In this framework, the United Nations formed a mission known as Jarring Mission that was supposed to ensure that the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 242 would be closely followed, nonetheless by the end of the year 1969, it was obvious that this mission had been a failure. Fearing the escalation of the tensions the American president at that time, Richard Nixon, decided to send his Secretary of State, William Rogers, to formulate the well known Rogers Plan which proposed the Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, in exchange for peace with the arab States⁽¹²⁶⁾.

In August 1970, Cairo, Amman and Tel-Aviv agreed an armistice under the terms proposed by the Rogers Plan. The blueprint enclosed limitations on missile deployment by both sides, prohibiting either side from altering the military current situation within zones extending 50 kilometers to the east and west of the cease-fire line⁽¹²⁷⁾. Yet, one month later and on the 28th of September 1970 president Nasser died with a heart attack and his vice Anwar Al- Sadat succeeded him to the rule of the country.

Some opinions argue that the geopolitical and geostrategic vision of Nasser for the Egyptian role has been theoretically true. Yet, this vision was not realistic as per his country's abilities and resources. In this context, it is worth mentioning that the 1967 defeat from Israel could be referred back to this confrontation between Nasser and the western camp, who perceived him as a threat for their interests in the region. Therefore, this defeat has been the result of many causes, namely, the domestic problems

¹²⁵ Aloni, Shlomo *Israeli Mirage and Nesher Aces*. Osprey. 2004, pp. 46–53.

¹²⁶ Fredrik Logevall, Andrew Preston, *Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations, 1969-1977*, Oxford University Press, Jul 11, 2008 - p.231.

¹²⁷ Robert Loone, *Handbook of US-Middle East Relations*, Routledge, May 22, 2014 p.288.

of Nasser's regime. In addition to the misperception, misjudgment and bad planning of many policies and reactions towards several situations, either internally or regionally, all these accumulated together with the confrontation of Nasser with the west.

Finally, Nasser's foreign policy should be judged within its real historical context, in that specific period of time. This era was characterized by the mounting aspiration of the Egyptian and Arab people to have a hero with the emergence of the national liberation movements with its leaders in the third world. for instance, Jawaharlal Nehru the first prime minister of India, and Sukarno the first president of Indonesia, as well as Kwame Nkrumah the first prime minister and first president of Ghana. In addition to other figures as Patrice Émery Lumumba the Congolese independence leader who was the first democratically elected leader of the Congo as its prime minister and Ahmed Ben Bella the first president of Algeria. All these developments took place in the atmosphere of the escalation of the cold war between the two world camps at that epoch of history⁽¹²⁸⁾.

¹²⁸the Egyptian foreign policy between Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Al- Sadat and Hosni Mubarak, Al Syiassa Al Kharigia Al Masreya Bein Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar al- Sadat and Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian council of foreign affairs, Awrak Publications , Vol: 11, June 2011.

CHAPTER 3

SADAT'S ERA: EGYPT FIRST

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The Corrective or Rectification Revolution:

When Anwar Al-Sadat succeeded Nasser, he lacked the latter's popular legitimacy while his new regime found it progressively hard to keep hold of the welfare commitments of Nasserist socialism. Hence, to consolidate his system, Sadat brought about a "Corrective Revolution" of 1971, during which he did radical changes on issues of foreign policy, economy, and even ideology. Thus, he expelled powerful Nasserist figures with their ideological commitment to the Soviet Union from all the state institutions, including the both ruling Arab Socialist Union (ASU) and the army. Sadat's Corrective Revolution as well included the imprisonment of other political forces in Egypt, including liberals and Islamists⁽¹²⁹⁾.

Moreover, Sadat took a decision to expel all the soviet military experts in July 1972, by asking them to leave Egypt at the earliest possible chance. This step from the part of Sadat was shocking and confusing to everybody even his advisors. At that time, Egypt was suffering critically from economic glitches caused by the 1967 War and the relationship with the Soviet Union as well deteriorated owing to their undependability and rejection of the Egyptian regime demands for more military support. Yet, some opinions argued that this move could be referred back to his wish forgoing through the 1973 war alone and without reliance on any foreign powers, in order to achieve a pure Egyptian victory, that wouldn't be assigned to any other parties⁽¹³⁰⁾.

¹²⁹Carl F. Petry The Cambridge History of Egypt, Volume 2, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.359.

¹³⁰ Karen Dawisha, Soviet Foreign Policy Towards Egypt, Springer, 1979, p.159-160.

Policy of Economic and Political Reform:

Sadat launched a four-phased approach to introduce a multi-party system in the country after years of stagnation in the political life during his predecessor Nasser's rule. In this framework, he issued a comprehensive political document under the name of "October Paper" in the year 1974, and he established political platforms in Arabic called "manaber". In addition, he founded the Misr Party; and ultimately in 1978 he formed the National Democratic Party (NDP). In the October Paper, Sadat reiterated his commitment to inaugurating a constitutional democratic government, preserving Egypt's socialist character, and rejecting the "concept of the single party" and hailed pleas for a multi-party system⁽¹³¹⁾.

It is argued that President Sadat's October Paper and political reform were motivated by need for self-preservation, not real democratic idealism, as he perceived the Arab Socialist Union as a potential threat to his regime; so he divided the ASU into three ideological platforms, however in the year 1977 he took a decision to entirely ban all the union's activities. Furthermore, in July 1978, Sadat announced the formation of his own political party, the National Democratic Party (NDP)⁽¹³²⁾.

Consequently, about 250 MPs of the People's Assembly decided to join up Sadat's new party. Some opinions claim that this step was certainly associated to the fact that the President's party would guarantee for its affiliates an explicit way in to the state's resources. The main point, however, is that since most of the NDP's members were originally members of the disbanded ASU, its foundation could be based on presidential instigation more than of pressures from the public. the transformation from "socialist" to "democratic" ideology entailed not only the aspiration to continue under direct presidential patronage, but also that

¹³¹Arafat, Alaa Al-Din (2009). The Mubarak Leadership and Future of Democracy in Egypt. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 12.

¹³²Russell E. Lucas, Institutions and the Politics of Survival in Jordan: Domestic Responses to External Challenges, 1988-2001, SUNY Press, 2012, p.151-155)

the emergence of the ruling NDP was no not reflective of citizenry interests than the ASU was under Nasser's party system⁽¹³³⁾.

The endorsement of the parties' law in the year 1977 exhibited Egypt's political regime officially turned into the era of party multi pluralism. However, the law enactment did not mean the total abolition of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU); rather it had given the Union more capacity to allow party formation. The law stipulated party principles should not run counter to the Islamic Shari'ah doctrines and conserve the national unity, social peace, the socialist and democratic system as well as socialist gains. It also affirmed that the party should not be formed on ethnic, racial, geographical or discriminatory bases due to sex, origin, religion or creed⁽¹³⁴⁾. Following the signing the peace accord with Israel in 1979, the law further postulated that both the party founders and members should not be opponent to the peace treaty. Following the signing the peace accord with Israel in 1979, the law further stipulated that the party founders and members should not be opponent to the peace accord.

On the other hand, The October Paper announced Egypt's new economic policy as combining Arab capital, together with the Western technology, and the state's lavish resources in an endeavor to transform the country's economy. This in mint condition economic policy became was known as the Economic Opening, in Arabic Al-inftah. This policy ended the control of Egypt's economy by the public sector and encouraged both domestic and foreign investment in the private sector. Sadat believed the his country's economy, with its large public sector, had changed into a "Soviet - style system" of "inefficiency with overpowering bureaucracy⁽¹³⁵⁾.

¹³³Mohamed Fahmy Menza, *Patronage Politics in Egypt: The National Democratic Party and Muslim Brotherhood in Cairo*, Routledge, 2013, p.107-110.

¹³⁴ Raymond William Baker, *Sadat and After: Struggles for Egypt's Political Soul*, Harvard University Press, 1990, p.197-199.

¹³⁵Gamal M. Selim, *The International Dimensions of Democratization in Egypt: The Limits of Externally-Induced Change*, Springer, 2015, p.51-52.

Some opinions contends that the economic openness policy was not only ideologically but also politically induced by Sadat's wish or aspiration to align his regime with the capitalist West, and the rich and powerful sects of Egyptian society, he wanted to single out himself from his predecessor Nasser while at the same time securing his position in power⁽¹³⁶⁾. Yet, this economic liberalization policy will be discussed later in other parts.

Foreign Policy Reorientation from East to West:

In the Aftermath the death of Nasser in September 1970, as mentioned above his vice Anwar al-Sadat assumed power and started to open his own new chapter in the Egyptian foreign policy. He realized very early that the restoration of Egypt's political importance, especially after the defeat in the 1967 war, could not be attained without enough support from the west in general particularly the United States. Moreover, another factor has contributed to the shift in the new president approach in relation to Cairo's external movement, which is the appeasement between Moscow and Washington. In this regard, it is worth to mention that during the 1970s, the united states made a dramatic policy alteration and started on a rapprochement with the Soviet Union. Underneath that new policy, both world powers signed two disarmament treaties, Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) and Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABMT)⁽¹³⁷⁾.

The reconciliation between the superpowers had a noteworthy influence on Middle East politics and compelled Egypt to re-evaluate its relations with the Soviet Union. Sadat grasped that the military dependence on Moscow would not come about anymore. Thus, to portray a favourable image for the West, he introduced the previously discussed "Revolution of Rectification", which These measures were generally welcomed by the West⁽¹³⁸⁾. Meanwhile, Sadat accused the Soviet Union of

¹³⁶ Goldschmidt Jr., Historical Dictionary of Egypt, Scarecrow Press, 2013, p.201-202.

¹³⁷ Mark R. Amstutz, International Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to World Politics (Madison: Brown & Benchmark, 1995), p.128.

¹³⁸ Derek Hopwood, Egypt Politics and Society 1945-1981, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982, pp 105-106.

not supplying his country with up-to-date weapons. However, he was a second-sighted and insightful politician and political leader that he did not rush to completely splitting up ties with Moscow. Thus, he concluded in 1972 a "friendship agreement" with the USSR to enhance the cooperation between the two countries, a step which Nasser himself did not manage to take⁽¹³⁹⁾.

With the conclusion of the Egyptian- Israeli peace accord in 1979 under the American patronage, Cairo managed to restore its relations with Washington that had been damaged after the 1967 Arab-Israel war. In this way, Sadat prevailed in realizing two important foreign policy goals, namely, the restoration of its links with the most important superpower and the termination of the security threat from the part of Israel. Though it led to a completely new era of American and Egyptian relations both politically and economically, yet it resulted in the isolation of Cairo in its Arab region.

Retaining security at the border with Israel had become a massive load on the Egyptian economy, as the military re-building expenditures surged to about 25 % of the gross domestic product (GDP) of the country. Ensuring security was crucial for Egypt's deteriorating economy, a matter which could not be accomplished without the financial and economic aid of Washington, as Sadat accepted as true that the U.S. was the only state capable of putting pressure effectively on Israel⁽¹⁴⁰⁾. Sadat has always been convinced that the United States was the only international power capable of resolving the ongoing conflict politically. In that context, it is worth mentioning that Sadat repeatedly reiterated a statement that the Washington holds 99 per cent of the cards in the Middle East⁽¹⁴¹⁾.

¹³⁹ <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/sadat-and-nasser/>.

¹⁴⁰ Jeremy M. Sharp, 'Egypt: Background and US Relations', CRS Report for the Congress, 12 August 2008, p.5.

¹⁴¹ Middle East annual review, 1978, p: 202, Michael Field.

Accordingly, the restoration of the relations with Washington assisted Cairo to enhance its economy as under the peace treaty with Israel, Egypt received about \$ 7.3 billion in US aid in 1979. Moreover, Under the Special International Security Assistance Act of 1979, the US provided both military and economic grants to Israel and Egypt at a ratio of 3 to 2, respectively. A yearly two billion dollars' aid was supplied for subsidizing Egypt's defence budget and modernizing the country's infrastructure. Henceforth, after 1979 Egypt became the second-largest recipient of US aid, a matter that moved Egypt out of the Soviet sphere and entered it into the US one⁽¹⁴²⁾.

¹⁴²William B. Quandt, The Middle East: Ten Years After Camp David, Brookings Institution Press, 2010, p.65.

Table 1. U.S. Foreign Assistance to Egypt, 1946-1997

(\$ in millions)

(\$ in millions)											
Year	Total	Military Loan	Military Grant	IMET Grant	Misc. Econ Grant	DA Loan	DA Grant	ESF Loan	ESF Grant	PL 480 I	PL 480 II
1946	9.6	—	—	—	9.3 Surplus 0.3 UNWR A	—	—	—	—	—	—
1948	1.4	—	—	—	1.4 Surplus	—	—	—	—	—	—
1951	0.1	—	—	—	0.1 Tech Asst	—	—	—	—	—	—
1952	1.2	—	—	—	—	—	0.4	—	—	—	0.8
1953	12.9	—	—	—	—	—	12.9	—	—	—	—
1954	4.0	—	—	—	—	—	3.3	—	—	—	0.7
1955	66.3	—	—	—	—	7.5	35.3	—	—	—	23.5
1956	33.3	—	—	—	—	—	2.6	—	—	13.2	17.5
1957	1.0	—	—	—	—	—	0.7	—	—	—	0.3
1958	0.6	—	—	—	—	—	0.0	—	—	—	0.6
1959	44.8	—	—	—	—	—	2.0	—	—	33.9	8.9
1960	65.9	—	—	—	—	15.4	5.7	—	—	36.6	8.2
1961	73.5	—	—	—	—	—	2.3	—	—	48.6	22.6
1962	200.5	—	—	—	—	20.0	2.2	20	—	114.0	44.3
1963	146.7	—	—	—	—	36.3	2.3	10	—	78.5	19.6
1964	95.5	—	—	—	—	—	1.4	—	—	85.2	8.9
1965	97.6	—	—	—	—	—	2.3	—	—	84.9	10.4
1966	27.6	—	—	—	—	—	1.5	—	—	16.4	9.7
1967	12.6	—	—	—	—	—	0.8	—	—	—	11.8
1972	1.5	—	—	—	—	1.5	—	—	—	—	—
1973	0.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.8
1974	21.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8.5	9.5	3.3
1975	370.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	194.3	58.5	104.5	12.8
1976	464.3	—	—	—	—	—	5.4	150.0	102.8	201.7	4.4
TQ	552.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	429.0	107.8	14.6	1.1
1977	907.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	600.0	99.2	196.8	11.7
1978	943.2	—	—	0.2	0.1 Narc.	—	—	617.4	133.3	179.7	12.5
1979	2,588.5	1,500	—	0.4	—	—	—	250.0	585.0	230.7	22.4
1980	1,167.3	—	—	0.8	—	—	—	280.0	585.0	285.3	16.1

Year	Total	Military Loan	Military Grant	IMET Grant	Misc. Econ Grant	DA Loan	DA Grant	ESF Loan	ESF Grant	PL 480 I	PL 480 II
1981	1,681.2	550	—	0.8	—	—	—	70.0	759.0	272.5	28.9
1982	1,967.3	700	200.0	2.4	—	—	—	—	771.0	262.0	31.9
1983	2,332.0	900	425.0	1.9	—	—	—	—	750.0	238.3	16.8
1984	2,470.8	900	465.0	1.7	—	—	—	—	852.9	237.5	13.7
1985	2,468.7	—	1,175.0	1.7	—	—	—	—	1,065.1	213.8	13.2
1986	2,539.1	—	1,244.1	1.7	—	—	—	—	1,069.2	217.5	6.6
1987	2,317.0	—	1,300.0	1.8	—	—	—	—	819.7	191.7	3.9
1988	2,174.9	—	1,300.0	1.5	—	—	—	—	717.8	153.0	2.6
1989	2,269.6	—	1,300.0	1.5	—	—	1.5	—	815.0	150.5	1.2
1990	2,397.4	—	1,294.4	1.6	—	—	—	—	898.4	203.0	—
1991	2,300.2	—	1,300.0	1.9	—	—	—	—	780.8	165.0	52.5
1992	2,235.1	—	1,300.0	1.8	—	—	—	—	892.9	40.4	—
1993	2,052.9	—	1,300.0	1.8	—	—	—	—	747.0	—	4.1
1994	1,868.6	—	1,300.0	0.8	—	—	—	—	561.6	35.0	6.2
1995	2,414.5	—	1,300.0	1.0	—	—	0.2	—	1,113.3	—	—
1996	2,116.6	—	1,300.0	1.0	—	—	—	—	815.0	—	0.6
1997	2,116.0	—	1,300.0	1.0	—	—	—	—	815.0	—	—
Total	45,669.4	4,550	17,803.5	27.3.0	11.2	80.7	82.8	2,620.7	15,923.8	4,114.3	455.1

Notes: Totals may not add due to rounding. No U.S. aid programs for years 1947, 1949, 1950, 1968, 1969, 1970, and 1971. P.L. 480 II Grant for 1993 includes \$2.1 million in Section 416 food donations. TQ = Transition Quarter; change from June to September fiscal year

* = less than \$100,000

IMET = International Military Education and Training

UNRWA = United Nations Relief and Works Agency

Surplus = Surplus Property

Tech. Asst. = Technical Assistance

Narc. = International Narcotics Control

DA = Development Assistance

ESF = Economic Support Funds

PL 480 I = Public Law 480 (Food for Peace), Title I Loan

PL 480 II = Public Law 480 (Food for Peace), Title II Grant

As for the relations with the Soviet Union, they witnessed a gradual deterioration throughout the presidency of Sadat, especially with improved relationship with the United States after the 1973 October war. This decline in the linkage with Moscow took place, despite its participation in negotiations that led to the conclusion of disengagement agreements between Egypt and Syria from one side, and Israel from the other side. Also, the Soviet Union co-chaired with the United States the Geneva conference that was held in December 1973 that was established to seek an end to the Arab- Israeli conflict⁽¹⁴³⁾.

Yet, the USSR continued to have some doubts about its role in this process and the new arrangements that was taking place in the region at that time with the sponsorship of the American administration via the "shuttle diplomacy", of its foreign minister Henry Kissinger. He started the first round in January 1974, with Israel's proposals for disengagement with the Egyptians⁽¹⁴⁴⁾.

As a result, we can recognize that all the above mentioned accumulations pushed President Sadat to criticize the Soviet Union publically and to cancel the previously signed "Friendship Agreement" in 1976, as well as the recall of the Egyptian ambassador to Moscow, that step that thrust the soviets to do the same with its ambassador to Cairo.

To conclude, the end of the seventies has been a witness over a major shift in the Egyptian foreign policy than that of the fifties as Sadat focused on achieving the national interest of his country as a priority on top of its regional priorities. In addition, the relations with the Soviet Union was totally replaced by a strategic long lasting linkage with the United States and the west⁽¹⁴⁵⁾.

¹⁴³Historical Dictionary of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, P R. Kumaraswamy, Rowman & Littlefield, second edition, 2015, p:192.

¹⁴⁴<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/shuttle-diplomacy>.

¹⁴⁵Aboul Gheit, Ahmed, eyewitness on peace and war, in Arabic Shahed Ala Alharb Wa Alsalam, 2013, Nahdet Masr for Publishing, p.185.

October 1973 War and Camp David Agreements:

In October 1973, Sadat took his critical and historical decision to launch a surprise attack on Israel in cooperation with Syria to free both occupied Sinai and Golan heights. The Egyptian president made his mind up with the war decision few months before it broke out, after the Washington suggested that possibility of Israel's returning the Sinai Peninsula to Egyptian control with the withdrawal from all of occupied territories except for some strategic points. However, Sadat was already determined to go to war. Moreover, he stated that Cairo was prepared to "sacrifice a million Egyptian soldiers" to recover its lost territory⁽¹⁴⁶⁾.

By the end of the year 1972, Egypt commenced intense efforts to re-build its armed forces. It received from the Soviet Union under the friendship agreement signed between the two countries, military equipment included MiG-21 jet fighters, SA-2, SA-3, SA-6 and SA-7 anti-aircraft missiles, in addition to T-55 and T-62 tanks, RPG-7 anti-tank weapons, as well as AT-3 Sagger anti-tank guided missile. Moreover, the military generals, who had been deemed responsible for the 1967 defeat, were substituted with proficient ones⁽¹⁴⁷⁾.

Once more, Sadat in an interview published in Newsweek on April 9th, 1973, menaced to launch war against Israel⁽¹⁴⁸⁾. Likewise, several times during 1973, Arab forces conducted large-scale military exercises a matter that put the Israeli army on the highest level of alert. However, the Israeli leadership believed that if an attack took place, the Israeli Air Force (IAF) could easily find it off. On the other hand, one year before the outbreak of the war Sadat during a meeting with the

¹⁴⁶Klaus Mommsen, 60 YEARS ISRAEL NAVY: BoD – Books on Demand, 2011 p.173-174.

¹⁴⁷Anthony Tucker-Jones, Soviet Cold War Weaponry: Aircraft, Warships and Missiles, Pen and Sword, 2015, p.133-135.

¹⁴⁸ Klaus Mommsen, 60 YEARS ISRAEL NAVY: BoD–Books on Demand, 2011, p.175.

Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, declared his intention to go to war with Israel even without proper Soviet support⁽¹⁴⁹⁾.

Preparations and arrangements for the October war had begun in actually in the year 1971 and was conducted in absolute secrecy, even the high-rank commanding officers were not communicated about the war plans until less than a week prior to the attack, as well the soldiers were not informed until a few hours beforehand. The plan to attack Israel in unison with Syria was called operation Badr Amaliyat Badr or plan Badr Khitat Badr in Arabic.

On the 6th of October the Egyptian troops attacked the Israeli fortifications on the East Bank of Suez Canal and destroyed Bar-Lev line, while in the same time the Syrian army attacked the Golan Heights. On October 22nd the United Nations (UN) brokered a ceasefire that was quickly collapsed, with each side accusing the other for the infringement. By October 24th, the Tel-Aviv had improved its positions and completed its clinch on Egypt's Third Army and the Suez city; a matter that led to tensions between the superpowers the United States and the Soviet Union. Therefore, a second ceasefire was imposed cooperatively on October 25th to end the war⁽¹⁵⁰⁾.

Disengagement talks between both Egypt and Israel took place on October 28th, 1973, known as "Kilometre 101". United Nations checkpoints were brought in to replace Israeli ones, non-military supplies were allowed to pass, and war prisoners were to be exchanged. Hence, the Geneva Conference of December 1973, was proposed where all the parties involved in the war namely, Egypt, Israel, Syria, and Jordan were invited to a common effort by the Soviet Union and the United States to finally usher peace between the Arabs and Tel-Aviv. This conference was recognized by UN Security Council Resolution 344 and was based on the

¹⁴⁹George Walter Gawrych, *The Albatross of Decisive Victory: War and Policy Between Egypt and Israel in the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli Wars*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000, p.133.

¹⁵⁰P.R. Kumaraswamy, *Revisiting the Yom Kippur War*, Routledge, 2013, p.61-62.

Resolution 338, calling for a "just and durable peace". However, the meeting was compelled to defer on January 1974, because of the absence of Syria⁽¹⁵¹⁾.

After the failure of the first conference, secretary of state Henry Kissinger started to conduct the famous shuttle diplomacy, meeting with Israel and the Arab states directly. Consequently, the initial tangible outcome of this effort was the primary military disengagement agreement, signed by Israel and Egypt on January 18th, 1974. Under this Sinai Separation of Forces Agreement, commonly known as "Sinai I", Israel agreed to back off its forces from the West of Suez Canal, which it had occupied from the time when the hostilities had been terminated. What is more, Israeli forces also pulled back on the length of the whole front to create security zones for Egypt, UN and Israel. Thus, Israel gave up its advances reaching beyond the Suez Canal, but it still held nearly all of Sinai. It became the foremost of many such Land for Peace agreements where Israel surrender territory in exchange for treaties. The peace talks at the end of the war was the first time that Arab and Israeli officials met for direct public negotiations since the 1948 war⁽¹⁵²⁾.

On the other hand, the Arab states played a very important role in this war, in this regard it is worth to mention that they added up to 100,000 troops to Egypt and Syria's frontline. For instance, Iraq in addition to its forces in already based in Syria sent a squadron to Egypt. The squadron quickly gained a reputation amongst Egyptian field commanders for its skill in air support, particularly in Anti-Armor strikes⁽¹⁵³⁾. Likewise, Algeria sent a squadron each of MiG-21s and Su-7s to Egypt, which arrived at the front between October 9 and October 11. It also sent an armored brigade of 150 tanks; as well, Algerian fighter jets participated in attacks together with Egyptians and Iraqis. In addition, deposited around

¹⁵¹P.R. Kumaraswamy, *The A to Z of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Scarecrow Press, 2009, p.93.

¹⁵²Alan James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics*, Springer, 2016, p.112.

¹⁵³ The Crossing of the Suez, Lieutenant General Saad el Shazly, 2003, *The Crossing of the Suez*, American Mideast Research, p.277-278.

\$200 million with the Soviet Union to finance arms purchases for both Cairo and Damascus⁽¹⁵⁴⁾.

From its part Libya had forces stationed in Egypt before the outbreak of the war, that include one armored brigade and two squadrons of Mirage V fighters, of which one squadron was to be piloted by the Egyptian Air Force and the other by Libyan pilots⁽¹⁵⁵⁾. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia sent 3,000 soldiers to Syria, bolstered by a squadron of Panhard AML-90 armored cars. Kuwait dispatched 3,000 soldiers to Syria and Egypt. Morocco sent one infantry brigade to Egypt and one armored regiment to Syria. While, Tunisia sent 1,000–2,000 soldiers to Egypt, where they were based in the Nile Delta and some of them were positioned to defend the city of Port Said. Lebanon sent radar units to Syria for air defense; however, it did not actually take part in the war⁽¹⁵⁶⁾.

In response to U.S. support of Israel and in order to put more pressure on Washington to amend its pro-Israeli policy, the Arab members of Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), led by Saudi Arabia, decided to reduce oil production by 5% per month on October 17th. A couple of days later, the American President Nixon authorized a major allocation of arms supplies and \$2.2 billion in appropriations for Israel. As a reaction, Riyadh announced an oil embargo against the United States, later joined by other oil exporters and extended against other western countries, causing the 1973 oil crisis⁽¹⁵⁷⁾.

The October 6th, 1973 war disrupted the status quo in the Middle East, and acted as a direct originator of the 1978 Camp David Accords, which resulted in the Egyptian–Israeli Peace Treaty, the first ever between Israel and an Arab state⁽¹⁵⁸⁾. The victory in the October 6th war healed the

¹⁵⁴Guy Arnold, *Wars in the Third World Since 1945*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016, p.302-303

¹⁵⁵ Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948-1991, U of Nebraska Press, 2004, p.361.

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/536573>.

¹⁵⁷Franco Praussello, *Sustainable Development and Adjustment in the Mediterranean Countries, Following the EU Enlargement*, Franco Angeli, 2006, p.137.

¹⁵⁸ William B. Quandt, *Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics*, Brookings Institution Press, 2015 – p.339.

psychological trauma of the Arab and Egyptian defeat in the 1967 War, allowing them to negotiate with the Israelis on a later stage as equals. The Egyptian president Sadat, who had entered the war in order to recover the Sinai from Israel, grew frustrated at the slow pace of the peace process. In this regard he expressed his will to open to a more constructive dialog to achieve a comprehensive peace between the Arabs not only the Egyptians with Tel- Aviv.

On November 9th, 1977, Sadat surprised the world when he announced before the Egyptian parliament that he was willing to visit Israel and address the Knesset. Shortly afterward, the Israeli government cordially invited him to make a speech at the Knesset. Thus, in November 20th, Sadat took the unprecedented step of visiting Israel, becoming the first Arab leader to do so⁽¹⁵⁹⁾. This step opened the door towards the peace process between the two countries. The United States President Jimmy Carter invited both the Egyptian president Sadat and the Israeli prime Menachem Begin to a summit at Camp David to negotiate a final peace between Cairo and Tel-Aviv.

The negotiations took place from September 5–17, 1978⁽¹⁶⁰⁾. In due course, the discussions succeeded, and the two states signed the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty in 1979, by which Tel-Aviv withdrew its troops in Sinai, in a swap for normal relations and a long-term peace with Egypt. Additionally, these issues also encompassed, the freedom of passage for the Israeli ships through the Suez Canal, and recognition of the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba, as international waterways⁽¹⁶¹⁾

The normalization of relations between Israel and Egypt and full diplomatic relations went into effect in January 1980. Ambassadors for the first time in history were exchanged between Cairo and Tel-Aviv in

¹⁵⁹ Itamar Rabinovich, Jehuda Reinharz Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, Pre-1948 to the Present, UPNE, 2008, p.363.

¹⁶⁰ <http://www.mfa.gov eg/Lists/Treaties%20DB/Attachments/646/Framework en.pdf>.

¹⁶¹ <http://www.mfa.gov eg/Lists/Treaties%20DB/Attachmen s/ 645/ Peace%20Treaty en.pdf>.

February of the same year⁽¹⁶²⁾. The boycott laws with Israel adopted by the league of Arab states (LAS) were annulled by the Egyptian parliament in the same month, and some trade began to develop. Furthermore, in March 1980 regular airline flights were inaugurated. Egypt also began supplying Israel with crude oil. Then again, both Sadat and Begin went halves the Nobel Peace Prize in the year 1978 for their efforts in creating peace amid the two countries⁽¹⁶³⁾.

The Former Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Maher, who participated in the negotiations team in Camp David, wrote that *"president Sadat dreamed of a truly new Middle East, one in which free peoples, each living in their own sovereign states, freely cooperated with their neighbors for the common good: Palestine, Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan. This is the only viable map of the Middle East. Let us rededicate ourselves to this vision, thereby ensuring a better future for the next generation, and perhaps enjoying some of it ourselves if we work hard enough"*⁽¹⁶⁴⁾. These words of Sadat reflect his insistence to conclude the agreement which will have to pave the way towards the creation of stability in the regions, under any cost or circumstances.

The Impact Of The Peace Agreement On The Egyptian –Arab Relations:

The Sadat's vision towards its foreign policy especially in relation to the Arab region, totally differed from Nasser's vision, while the latter estimated that Egypt's foreign policy is mainly and directly committed to its Arab domain. Yet, President Sadat on the contrary, realized that the Egyptian foreign policy should focus on achieving his country's interests. Though, both the domestic and external policies of Sadat differed totally from that of his predecessor Nasser. Yet, they both began their presidencies with sovereignty problems as some parts of the Egyptian land was still under occupation. Thus, as Nasser worked hard to

¹⁶²Bernard Reich, A Brief History of Israel, Infobase Publishing, 2008, p.129.

¹⁶³Laszlo Solymar, Anatomy of Assassinations, Author House, 2013, p.235.

¹⁶⁴ Anwar Sadat And His Vision, Ahmed Maher El-Sayed, Sadat And His Legacy Egypt And The World, 1977-1997, The Washington Institute For Near East Policy, 1997, P:10.

end the British occupation, President Sadat main cause was putting an end to the Israeli occupation of Sinai, and restoring the Egyptian land back⁽¹⁶⁵⁾.

The Arab world was shocked and furious at Egypt's peace with Israel, and was considered as a stab in the back. Sadat became extremely ostracized and he was branded as traitor. Because of the signing of the Egyptian unilateral agreement with Israel, the summit of the Arab league that was held in the Iraqi capital Baghdad in November 1978, took a decision to freeze the relations with Egypt. On March 31st, 1979, only five days after the ratification of the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty, the Arab leaders again convened in Baghdad in the absence of Egypt. during this conference, the Arab countries decided to suspend its membership in the league of Arab states (LAS), and to move the headquarters of the Arab league from Cairo to Tunis, alleging that this agreement significantly affected the rights of the Palestinian people. Moreover, the Arab governments punished Egypt for taking this step by imposing economic sanctions on the country⁽¹⁶⁶⁾.

Furthermore, the Arab leaders also tried to incite the member states of the former Organization of African Unity (AOU), the current African Union (AU), as well as the leaders of the Non- Aligned movement (NAM), to take the similar position towards Egypt and to isolate Cairo from their membership. However, these trials went through a big failure and the majority of the members in these organizations supported Egypt's foreign policy moves⁽¹⁶⁷⁾.

In brief, the two consecutive decisions of war and peace were among the most valiant and strategic resolutions in the history of Egypt. In

¹⁶⁵The Egyptian foreign policy between Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar al- Sadat and Hosni Mubarak, al Syiassa al Kharigia Al Masreya Bein Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar al- Sadat and Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian council of foreign affairs, Awrak Publications, Vol:11, June 2011.

¹⁶⁶Tucker, Spencer C.; Roberts, Priscilla (2008-05-12). The Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Political, Social, and Military History [4 volumes]: A Political, Social, and Military History. ABC-CLIO.

¹⁶⁷John Norton Moore, The Arab-Israeli Conflict, Volume IV, Part I: The Difficult Search for Peace 1975-1988, Princeton University Press, 2014, p. 412.

addition, President Sadat realized that turning to the west specially the United States would be the only exit to all his country's problems, regardless of all the negative impacts of this rapprochement on the Egyptian leadership role in the region⁽¹⁶⁸⁾.

President Anwar Sadat, was assassinated two years after the signing of the bilateral peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, during the annual victory parade held in Cairo to commemorate the historical victory for Egypt in 1981. In this framework, it is worth to mention that a command or "fatwa" authorizing the assassination of the president had been issued by the ex-leader of the Egyptian terrorist group, "Al Gamaa Al Islamyia", Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman. (he at this time is serving a life plus 65 years imprisonment in the United States, after being convicted with crimes of plotting to bomb many vital installations as FBI headquarters, the United Nations building)⁽¹⁶⁹⁾.

The planning for assassinating the president started right after the signing of the peace agreement between Cairo and Tel- Aviv, and the sharing of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978 by both the Egyptian President and Israeli Prime Minister at that time Menachem Begin. At the time, the Egyptian terrorist groups took advantage of these accords as card to gain a backup for their cause⁽¹⁷⁰⁾.

Egypt's Islamists who were formerly considerate to the endeavors of the late president Sadat's to assimilate them into Egyptian society, deemed after the signing of the peace accords with Israel, to be deceived and called for the overthrow of the Egyptian president publicly. Moreover, they urged for the substitution of the state system of governance with a new system grounded on Islamic theocracy⁽¹⁷¹⁾.

¹⁶⁸ Aboul Gheit, Ahmed, eyewitness on peace and war, in Arabic Shahed Ala Alharb Wa Alsalam, 2013, Nahdet Masr for Publishing, p.422.

¹⁶⁹ <http://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/101/omar-abdel-rahman>.

¹⁷⁰ <https://modernegypt.info/timeline/?random=483.76251850277185>.

¹⁷¹ Monte Palmer, Princess Palmer, At the Heart of Terror: Islam, Jihadists, and America's War on Terrorism, Rowman & Littlefield.. 2007, p. 87.

CHAPTER 4

MUBARAK: SEARCHING FOR BALANCE

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Egypt return to the Arab world:

The former president Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, was appointed as a vice for the late leader Sadat in 1975, took over the rule of Egypt in the constitutional way through in the aftermath of the assassination of the latter in 1981 by the Muslim Brotherhood. This matter could be an indicator for the political stability that Egypt has been witnessing during this period. Yet, this epoch was characterized by some kind of domestic agitation especially after the shooting of President Sadat. Mubarak's era was inaugurated with some internal problems, mainly the state of volatility that challenged the social and national fabric of the country, especially after the re-emergence of the extremist groups who have been dormant during Nasser's rule and the rise of some secretin problems. In addition to the coldness in relation between the ruling regime and the political figures of both left and right wings as well as the negative impacts of the economic policies of his predecessor Sadat⁽¹⁷²⁾.

Thus, the main target for President Mubarak was to restore the stability to Egypt on both the internal and external levels. In this domain, he endeavored to regain his country's relations with the Arab world, a matter that represented a great challenge for Mubarak in his early days as a president, as he tried hard to reach a compromise between the relations with the Arabs from one side, and his commitment with Israel from the other side. Thus, he attempted to balance between these two obligations, so he always stressed on his keenness to maintain the peace agreement

¹⁷²Ahmed Youssef Ahmed, continuity and change in The Egyptian foreign policy of president Mubarak, al Syiassa al Dawleyia, vol.69, July 1982, p.105-132, in Arabic Alestmrarya Wa Altaghyeer Fi Al Siyassa Alkharegia Al Masryia Lel Raeis Mubarak.

with Tel- Aviv and his readiness in the same time to get back the ties with the Arab Nations⁽¹⁷³⁾.

For instance, the condemnation of the Israeli acts in the Palestinian occupied territories, as well as the Israeli invasion to Lebanon in 1982, represent a clear example of this balance practiced by Mubarak's administration at that time. In addition, the Egyptian regime censured Sabra and Shatila massacres that took place in September 1982 in a neighborhood and Palestinian refugee camp in southern Beirut. and withdrew the Egyptian ambassador to Tel-Aviv and put the complete Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon as a condition for his return. Moreover, Egypt insisted on the importance of executing its demands, despite the American administration pressure on Mubarak, especially that Washington tried to link between the Egyptian- United States relations from one side, and the Israeli- Egyptian relations from the other side⁽¹⁷⁴⁾.

Obviously, during this period Mubarak struggled to reveal his good intentions towards all his neighbors, thus he helped in taking out the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) from Lebanon and ending the Beirut siege, and decided to freeze a number of the normalization agreements signed between Cairo and Tel-Aviv. These steps were followed by improvement in the relations with the neighbors⁽¹⁷⁵⁾. Another important factor contributed to the restoration of the Egyptian relations with the Arab countries and the termination of its isolation in its Arab sphere, which is the eruption of the first Gulf War between Iraq and Iran in 1980. In this context, it is worth to mention that regardless of the cut in the links between Iraq and Egypt at that moment, the latter helped the former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein in his war was against Tehran, as Mubarak regime supplied Baghdad with arms and military equipment. As

¹⁷³Jack Covarrubias, Tom Lansford, Strategic Interests in the Middle East: Opposition and Support for US Foreign Policy, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007, p.163.

¹⁷⁴Robert Fisk, Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War, Oxford University Press 2001, pp.382-383.

¹⁷⁵ Egypt, Routledge Revival: MERI Report, Middle East Research Institute, Routledge, 2015, p.44-46.

well Cairo helped the Iraqi regime to conclude an arms deal from United Kingdom in spring of 1982⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

Finally, and with this gradual rapprochement the reconciliation between Egypt and its Arab neighbors took place during the Arab summit that took place Amman in the year 1987. During this reunion a decision was taken by the heads of member states to resume the diplomatic relations between Cairo and the Arab countries, and its readmission to the league of Arab states (LAS) in 1989 and the return of the headquarters back to Cairo one year later⁽¹⁷⁷⁾.

In the aftermath of the reconciliation Mubarak regime has always stressed the region's need to create a more comprehensive framework, that is not limited only to the traditional security aspects but includes political coordination and economic cooperation, a matter which was crystallized in the creation of a forum under the name of the Arab cooperation council in June 1989. This council included along with Egypt, three countries namely Iraq, Yemen and Jordan, who agreed to enhance and coordinate the political and economic relations among them⁽¹⁷⁸⁾. What's more, the signing of the Damascus declaration by the gulf countries, Syria and Egypt in 1991, represented an important step towards the further integration between Egypt and the Arab states⁽¹⁷⁹⁾.

Concerning the relations with Syria, it is worth mentioning that it has witnessed a real good cooperation between the both Mubarak regime and Hafez Al –Assad regime on all levels, politically, economically, and diplomatically. However, by the death of the former Syrian president and the father of the current president Bashar, the relations started to fade out

¹⁷⁶Farhang Rajaei, Iranian Perspectives on the Iran-Iraq War, University Press of Florida, 1997, p.17.

¹⁷⁷<http://www.internationaldemocracywatch.org/index.php/monitored-igos/interregional-organisations/568-league-of-arab-states>

¹⁷⁸ Jonathan Sutherland, Diane Canwell, Key Concepts in International Business, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p.8.

¹⁷⁹ middle east contemporary survey 1991, Vol: XV, 1991, Amy Ayalon, Westview press, p:163-164.

with the gradual rapprochement of the Syrian regime with both Iran and Hezbollah in Lebanon⁽¹⁸⁰⁾.

The Iraqi-Iranian Gulf war 1980-88:

On the side of the ties between Cairo and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Mubarak when he came to power announced that security of the Arabian Gulf is indivisible part of Egypt's security is ready to provide assistance to any Arab country is facing a threat. In addition, he called the Arab oil states to work to develop a common Arab security strategy with and that his country is ready to implement the joint Arab defense treaty with the Gulf countries if required to do so. As well, the first gulf war between Baghdad and Tehran played a major role in the rapprochement between Cairo and oil gulf countries, especially with the broadening of the Iranian attacks on the southern borders of Iraq until it reached Kuwait and the Saudi arabia and extended across the whole gulf region. At that point the gulf states realized that Egypt could be their only protector and defender⁽¹⁸¹⁾

Egypt also showed a great plea to restore relations of economic and financial cooperation with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). In this regard, it is worth mentioning that despite the official boycott of Egypt, the amount of the investments of the Gulf Cooperation Council states in Egypt exceeded 2.1 billion Egyptian pounds in 1987⁽¹⁸²⁾. Moreover, by end of 1986, the relations between Egypt and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was resumed in the field of military cooperation⁽¹⁸³⁾.

¹⁸⁰My testimony, the Egyptian foreign policy 2004-011, Aboulgheit, Ahmed, 2013, Dar Nahdet Masr for publishing, in Arabic, Shehadaty Al siyassa Al Kharegia Al Masrya 2004-2011, p:340-377.

¹⁸¹Efraim Inbar Regional Security Regimes: Israel and Its Neighbors, SUNY Press, 1995, p.110.

¹⁸²Vladimir yefimov: Egypt's foreign Policy in the 1980'S, International affairs, February (Moscow: 1988), P. 71-72.

¹⁸³The Egyptian foreign policy 1981-1990, Turki, M. Fares. Regional studies center, El Mousel University, Vol:6, 2007, p: 19-20, in Arabic al- Siyassa Al Kharegiya Al- Masryia 1981-1990.

On the side of the ties with the Saudi Arabia, it is worth to highlight that Mubarak during his rule has always tried to maintain an active relationship with this major power in the Gulf region by stressing the importance of Egypt as a strategic depth for Riyadh, regardless of its strong connections with the United States. For instance, and the despite the boycott between Cairo and Saudi Arabia, yet Mubarak assisted the Saudi government to get Airborne Warning and Control System surveillance planes (AWACS), during the administration of president Ronald Reagan in 1987, this deal was considered at that time as the largest foreign arms sale in the US history⁽¹⁸⁴⁾. Moreover, He assured the successive Saudi regimes that his country would guarantee not only its own security, but also the safety of the whole Gulf region against any Iranian intervention in their internal affairs⁽¹⁸⁵⁾.

The ties with the Soviet Union:

On the other hand, President Mubarak was really careful to re-correct the path of its relations with the Soviet Union through inviting the soviet experts to participate in the repair of the High Dam engines and the industrial advisors to work again in the iron and steel factories in the neighborhood of Helwan near Cairo. In addition to the continuation of the economic projects already launched between the two countries⁽¹⁸⁶⁾. Moreover, in the year 1983 the Egyptian and soviet governments signed scientific and cultural cooperation agreement, and the trade as well as the economic relations were resumed between the two countries⁽¹⁸⁷⁾.

One year later in 1984, Cairo and Moscow decided to exchange ambassadors, three years after the expulsion of the Russian ambassador from Egypt in 1981. Furthermore, by the year 1986 Egypt had become the

¹⁸⁴ Nicholas Laham, Selling AWACS to Saudi Arabia: The Reagan Administration and the Balancing of America's Competing Interests in the Middle East, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002, p.204.

¹⁸⁵ My testimony, the Egyptian foreign policy 2004-011, Aboulgheit, Ahmed, 2013, Dar Nahdet Masr for publishing, in Arabic, Shehadaty Al Siyassa Al Kharegia Al Masrya 2004-2011, p:341-342.

¹⁸⁶ <http://www.nytimes.com/1981/11/09/world/mubarak-pledges-to-improve-living-for-allegypians.html>.

¹⁸⁷ William B. Quandt, The Middle East: Ten Years After Camp David, Brookings Institution Press, 2010, p. 89)

largest trading partner in the Arab world. The trade between the two countries has approached \$ 850 million, making the Soviet Union Egypt's second largest trading partner after the United States⁽¹⁸⁸⁾. in the year 1987 the relations between Egypt and the soviet union witnessed more positive developments, as Moscow agreed to reschedule the Egyptian debt for the soviet government which was approximately estimated by about \$ 3 billion to be paid in 25 years with a grace period of 10 years⁽¹⁸⁹⁾.

However, in 1988 the soviet government approved carrying over the Egyptian military debt that was calculated approximately with \$ 1.5 billion for about 19 years and six years as a grace period, this debt was agreed to be exchanged by Egyptian products to be exported to Moscow⁽¹⁹⁰⁾. Finally and in the year 1991 with the dissolution of the Soviet Union Mubarak regime disclosed that the federal republic of Russia is the heir of the disintegrated union, and the relationship between the newly formed state and Cairo began to develop dramatically through the exchange of visits.

The ties with the United States and The second Gulf war 1991:

The reconciliation with Moscow was not on the expense of its excellent relations with the united states that passed by many difficult situations, as a result of some differences of visions and opinions regarding some issues. The developments of Arab- Israeli conflict, and the Egyptian debts and its negative impacts on the economy, as well as the refusal of Egyptian administration to permit the Americans to use of the military base in Ras Banas area overlooking the red sea, and to grant them some more military facilities. All these factors created some tension in the relations between Cairo and Washington during the 1980's. Despite this

¹⁸⁸ Eur, The Middle East and North Africa 2003, Psychology Press, 2002, p.291.

¹⁸⁹<http://www.nytimes.com/1987/04/02/world/egypt-inaccord-on-soviet-debt.html>.

¹⁹⁰ Hafeez Malik Domestic Determinants of Soviet Foreign Policy towards South Asia and the Middle East, Springer, 1990, p.314-315.

Mubarak's administration was careful to regain the lost equilibrium or balance in the ties between the two countries⁽¹⁹¹⁾.

In this regard it is worth to mention that Mubarak aspired at changing the Egyptian foreign policy towards the united states, as he believed that his predecessor's foreign policy towards Washington has negatively impacted Egypt status and tarnished its image in the Arab world. For this reason, Mubarak wanted his country to enjoy some sort of independence in its relations with the united states to improve this image. During the first decade of Mubarak's rule the connections between the two states witnessed some ebb and flow. For instance, the first tangible unease between Cairo and Washington took place during the Israeli invasion to Lebanon in 1982 when Mubarak asked the American administration to put some pressure on Tel-Aviv to withdraw from the Lebanese territories and to revise its policy towards the middle east to reach a peaceful solution for the ongoing Arab Israeli conflict⁽¹⁹²⁾.

Yet the most important crisis that occurred between the both capitals in the year 1985 when the American air forces barred an Egyptian plane and obliged it to land in Italy under allegations that the Palestinian abductors of the Italian cruiser Achille Lauro were on board of this flight. This incident upset the Egyptian regime who labeled it as an unfriendly action from the part of the united states⁽¹⁹³⁾. Moreover, the relations between Cairo and Washington on the background of the latter attack on Libya to destroy some political leadership and military targets in the Libyan capital Tripoli and city of Benghazi, under the claims that they were related to the Libyan regime of Gaddafi who was accused of executing terrorist attacks against the American interests⁽¹⁹⁴⁾.

¹⁹¹The Indian Ocean and the Superpowers: economic, political and strategic perspectives, By Rasul BuxRais, p:89-90.

¹⁹²H. Thomas Davis, 40 Km Into Lebanon: Israel's 1982 Invasion, DIANE Publishing, 1995, p.97

¹⁹³ Itamar Rabinovich, Haim Shaked, Middle East Contemporary Survey, 1984-1985, The Moshe Dayan Center, 1987, p.34.

¹⁹⁴William C. Martel, Victory in War: Foundations of Modern Military Policy, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p.149.

Regardless of the tensions between the two sides, the Egyptian president Mubarak paid five visits to the United States from the period between the years 1981-1985. Furthermore, the economic relations between Cairo and Washington witnessed a number of dramatic progresses, especially in relation to the increase of the amount of financial assistance granted to the Egyptian government for the military and social aspects. This advancement reflects the concern of both the American administration and congress with the pivotal role of Egypt in the Middle East region and the importance of improving its capacities and capabilities to keep up with this responsibility.

In this context, it is worth to note that the evolution in the financial aid started in the year 1979 after the conclusion of the of the bilateral peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, when the American administration agreed to grant Cairo a loan worth \$ 1.5 billion for five years. Yet part of it was considered as a bestowal in the years 1982, 1983 and 1984. In addition, starting the year 1985 the American military assistance to Egypt had transformed to annual grants of an average of \$ 1.3 billion. Thus, Cairo during the 1980's received a total of \$ 30 billion⁽¹⁹⁵⁾

With the beginning of the 1990's two important developments that have taken place and contributed to giving a push to the Egyptian relations with the united states, the first one was Mubarak's administration position from the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait in August 1990, a matter that revealed the real leverage of Egypt's role in the region. In this domain, it is worth to highlight the that both the Egyptian and Arab response to the aggression could be underscored in the emergency meeting that has been held by the league of Arab states (LAS), without the approval of any resolutions, waiting for results of King Hussein's of Jordan peace initiative. At the same time, The Iraqi President Saddam called the King earlier in the same day, suggesting a mini-summit to solve the crisis. Thus, King Hussein

¹⁹⁵Mohamed Kadry Said, the Middle East security in the Egyptian-American dialogue, al Siyassa Al Dawelyia, Vol.134, November 1998, p.134, in Arabic Amn Al Shark Al-Awsat Fi Al Hwar Al Masry Al Americy.

went to Cairo to obtain President Mubarak's approval for this proposal, and both of them contacted President George Bush (the father) asking for only 48 hours to end the situation⁽¹⁹⁶⁾.

Meanwhile, the former American President did not waste time especially after he had been warned by the British Prime Minister at that time Margaret Thatcher not to be hesitant. Therefore, he offered the late Saudi King Fahd the help of United States, if Iraqi troops did not stop at the borders of kingdom of Saudi Arabia. However, and on a further development, President Bush cautioned King Fahd once again from the massing of Iraqi troops along his country's borders, and sent the Secretary of Defense, at that time Dick Cheney, to Riyadh. This step was followed by the deployment of American troops on the Saudi lands, in an operation that turned out to be known as "Operation Desert Shield". Moreover, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 661 that imposed economic sanctions on Iraq⁽¹⁹⁷⁾.

On the other hand, another emergency meeting of the Arab League, 14 Arab states pursued Mubarak's path in denouncing the Iraqi invasion and urged for an instant withdrawal from Kuwait. The seven votes against that resolution were from Iraq, Djibouti, Libya, Jordan, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Yemen and Sudan. However, and as a reaction to the arrival of the American troops in Saudi Arabia and to the U.N. economic sanctions, a new significant development took place when Iraq declared a union of Iraq and Kuwait.

Therefore, another Arab summit conference was held, during which President Mubarak forced a vote on a resolution, urging the Iraqi withdrawal from all the occupied territories and rejecting at the same time the annexation of Kuwait. Also it called for the restoration of the Kuwaiti Prince and supported the U.N. economic sanctions, demanding the

¹⁹⁶Jerry M. Long, *Saddam's War of Words: Politics, Religion, and the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait*, University of Texas Press, 2009, p. 24.

¹⁹⁷Alexander Thompson, *Channels of Power: The UN Security Council and U.S. Statecraft in Iraq*, Cornell University Press, 2015, p.86.

formation of an Arab "expeditionary force" to help Saudi Arabia. The vote on the resolution put the Arab states at odds, as they were separated into three camps, one supporting Iraq, another supporting Kuwait, and the third was neutral. The twelve votes in favor of the resolution were those of Egypt, Kuwait, Bahrain, Djibouti, Lebanon, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Syria, and the United Arab Emirates. While, the three votes against were those of Iraq, Libya, and the PLO. Yet, the remaining six states were neither for nor against. Algeria, Jordan, and Yemen uttered their abstention; at the time both Sudan and Mauritania expressed their reservations; and the only country was absent from the summit was Tunisia⁽¹⁹⁸⁾.

The Egyptian participation in the international coalition to liberate Iraq, with about 35, 0000 troops gave a push to the American – Egyptian relations to the extent that Washington dropped around \$ 7 billion of the Egyptian military debt and this relation continued in the same line with the consecutive administration of the democratic president Bill Clinton. Not only but also the Arab countries together with Washington cancelled about \$ 20 billion of the Egyptian debt, as well the United States managed to persuade the Paris club – which is an informal group of creditors countries- to let off \$ 10 billion or half of what Cairo owed to a group of European countries, united states, japan and Canada. This step enabled Egypt to borrow more money a matter that eased the pressure on the country's budget and helped to pave the way for the economic growth⁽¹⁹⁹⁾.

On the other hand, the second important development that helped in strengthening the American–Egyptian relations was the balanced way that the American president at that time George Bush and his foreign minister James Baker dealt with the peace process in the Middle East that started with the Madrid peace conference in 1991. From its part, Egypt

¹⁹⁸www.gulfwar1991.com/Gulf%20War%20Complete/Chapter%206,%20The%201990%20Crisis%20Leading%20to%20the%20Iraqi%20Invasion%20of%20Kuwait,%20By%20Hassan%20A%20El-Najjar.htm.

¹⁹⁹Steven. A. Cook, the struggle for Egypt, from Nasser to Tahrir square, American university in Cairo, 2012, p.161-162.

believed that an international peace conference could be the only convenient way to discuss the complicated issues of the Arab- Israeli conflict. Egypt has always been convinced that there is an organic relationship between achieving progresses either on the bilateral or multilateral tracks from one side, and between the achievement of progress upon issues as water, refugees, arms control and economic cooperation that necessitate stable and cooperative environment in the whole region⁽²⁰⁰⁾.

In this frame work it is worth to note that in the year 1989, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker mentioned that Israel should forsake its expansionist policies; this remark was taken by many circles as a signal that the pro-Israel Reagan years were over. In the Aftermath of the Gulf War in 1991, President George Bush (the father), highlighted that the achievement of a solution for the Arab-Israeli conflict that is based on the land -for-peace principle and the fulfillment of Palestinian rights was one of the main priorities of his administration's foreign policy⁽²⁰¹⁾.

Accordingly, and as a first step President Bush declared his intention to reconvene the international peace conference in Madrid, as the American administration at that time believed that there was a chance to use the political momentum engendered by the U.S. and its allies success in the Gulf War to invigorate the Arab-Israeli peace process. This initiative concentrated on organizing a multi-party international conference that would later break into separate bilateral and multilateral negotiating paths. Consequently, Baker made eight visits to the Middle East region to get patronage and backing for the upcoming conference. A framework of goals and intentions was devised and Washington together with Moscow,

²⁰⁰Itamar Rabinovich, Jehuda Reinharz, Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, Pre-1948 to the Present, UPNE, 2008, p.437.

²⁰¹Carol Migdalovitz, Israeli-Arab Negotiations: Background, Conflicts, and U. S. Policy, DIANE Publishing, 2010, p.5.

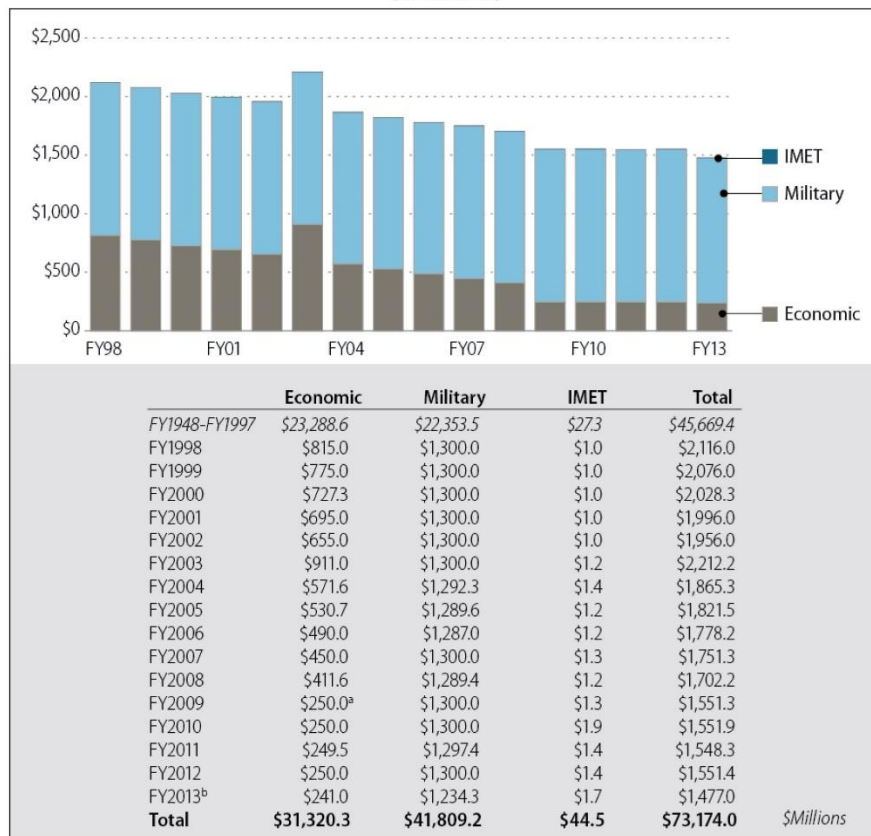
spread out an invitation letter to Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians⁽²⁰²⁾.

On the economic level, the Egyptian – American relations during Mubarak's era also endorsed several developments with the agreement to upgrade the partnership treaty to create a Free Trade Area (FTA), the matter that would have allowed the Egyptian exports to access the American market without any customs and tariffs. However, during this period Cairo signed the Qualified Industrial Zones (QIZ) agreement in the year 2005, with the United States and Israel. This agreement allow the products that contain at least 11,7% of its components of Egyptian origin to the American market without any customs or tariffs. The results have been positive. Israeli exports to Egypt rose over 30% from \$ 29 million in 2004 to \$ 93.2 million and exceeded \$ 125 million in 2006. As of the year 2008 about ten QIZs have been set up in Egypt⁽²⁰³⁾.

²⁰²<http://www.mideastweb.org/madridconference.htm>.

²⁰³ <http://www.qizegypt.gov.eg/>.

**Figure 1. U.S. Foreign Assistance to Egypt
(\$ in millions)**



Source: Created by CRS.

- a. In FY2009, Egypt received \$200 million in ESF from P.L. 111-8, the FY2009 Omnibus Appropriations Act. It then received an additional \$50 million in ESF from P.L. 111-32, the FY2009 Supplemental Appropriations Act.
- b. Reduced due to sequestration.

Invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the Counterterrorism Efforts:

In the aftermath of the September 11th attacks of 2001, the Egyptian-American relations have become a bit tense, this could be attributed to Cairo's unwillingness to send troops to both Afghanistan and Iraq in peace stabilization missions, as the Egyptian regime at that moment preferred to participate in the in those efforts only through training and technical assistance. Egypt supported the U.S. efforts in its war against

international terrorism after 9/11, however it rejected to send troops to Kabul during the war and after it⁽²⁰⁴⁾.

From its part, Cairo totally disagreed with the U.S. military intervention of March 2003 in Iraq, in the operation known as "operation Iraqi freedom". It continued to oppose Washington occupation of the country even after the termination of the military operation and further refused to comply with George W. Bush administration's War requests to send troops to the country even under the auspices of the United Nations (UN).

Moreover, the issue of chipping in the post-war construction efforts in Iraq has been controversial not only in Cairo but also in the entire Arab world. Form one side the antagonists believed that the military intervention in Iraq and toppling a deep- rooted regime even under the allegations of acquiring weapons of mass destruction was illegitimate, and it was necessary to wait until Iraq form its legal representative government to tackle it. Alternatively, backers of participation argued that the responsibility to protect Iraqi people and to help them in time of crisis should predominate and direct the Egyptian administration's movement in the country, regardless of the disagreement of the Iraqis themselves⁽²⁰⁵⁾.

However, and in the framework of the cooperation between Cairo and Washington in the counter terrorism efforts. It is worth to mention that the American officials have always labeled the collaboration with Egyptian security and military apparatuses, as having shared useful intelligence and providing each other with beneficial counterterrorism assistance. Washington have appreciated the mutual aid from the Egyptian

²⁰⁴U S Congress, Congressional Record, V. 151, PT. 17, October 7 to 26, 2005, Government Printing Office, 2010, p.364.

²⁰⁵<https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1164525344/egypt-and-the-war-on-iraq-implications-for-domestic>.

side with the successive American administration in the 1980s, 1990s, but particularly in the last decade since the 9/11 attacks⁽²⁰⁶⁾.

Moreover, when the relations between the United States and Egypt worsened after the June 30th revolution of 2013 that toppled Muslim Brotherhood regime in the country. The American administration decided to introduce some cuts in the military aid granted to Egypt, yet it continued to finance all the activities related to the counter-terrorism, border security and security operations in the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip, which is considered very important for maintaining Israel's security⁽²⁰⁷⁾.

Military cooperation between Cairo and Washington:

In the aftermath of the signing of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, the U.S. during the period between 1979 and 2003 has provided Cairo with about \$19 billion as military aid, a matter which made Egypt the second largest non-NATO recipient for the U.S. military assistance after Tel-Aviv. In 1989, both Egypt and Israel became a major non-NATO ally of the United States. In addition, Egypt received about \$30 billion in economic aid within the same episode. In the year 2009, Washington granted a military assistance of \$1.3 billion as well as an economic assistance of \$250 million⁽²⁰⁸⁾.

It could be argued that the military cooperation between the U.S. and Egypt is probably the strongest aspect of their strategic partnership between the two states. In this framework, it is worth to mention that the American executives have always emphasized the vitality of the Egyptian role in the Middle East, as it is considered a key pivotal country in the region. Egypt had always been labelled by the different administrations as

²⁰⁶Musa Tuzuner, *Intelligence Cooperation Practices in the 21st Century: Towards a Culture of Sharing*, IOS Press, 2010, p. 85.

²⁰⁷Jeremi Suri, Benjamin Valentino, *Sustainable Security: Rethinking American National Security Strategy*, Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 281.

²⁰⁸Sharp, Jeremy M, June 2014). "Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations", Congressional Research Service)

the most prominent player in the Arab world and a key U.S. ally in the Middle East region⁽²⁰⁹⁾.

On the other hand, the military cooperation between the two countries involves a very important aspect which execution of a series of a joint training exercises led by United States and Egyptian forces in Egypt known as operation bright star. These military exercises which are carried out every two years, are considered one of the most high-ranking and prominent in the world, they began in the year 1981, after the conclusion of the Camp David Accords. This military operation was mainly intended to reinforce the ties between the Egyptian Armed Forces and the United States Central Command and to enhance the ability of Washington to support its allies in the Middle East during the periods of war. In the aftermath of the liberation of Kuwait through the Operation Desert Storm, these military exercises got bigger and have counted in about 11 countries with approximately 70,000 personnel, among these countries are the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, and Greece, besides the Netherlands, in addition to Jordan, Kuwait, as well as the United Arab Emirates⁽²¹⁰⁾.

The military exercise begins with coalition inter-operability training to explain to the participating countries, how to operate with each other during the time of war, then continues with a Command Post Exercise that is planned to help standardize command and control procedures, followed by a large-scale Field Training Exercise to rehearse all the above mentioned together⁽²¹¹⁾. For the Egyptian armed forces, the goal of the exercise is to exchange experiences and mutual understanding between the various military schools, and advanced armament systems. In addition, the training provides a great opportunity to strengthen the bonds of cooperation and friendship between the participating countries⁽²¹²⁾. As

²⁰⁹Craig N. Murphy, Global Institutions, Marginalization and Development, Routledge, 2004, p.125.

²¹⁰ <http://www.arabic-military.com/t78910-topic>.

²¹¹ <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/bright-star.htm>.

²¹² <http://www.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2007/11/12/EGYP6.HTM>.

for the United States, Bright Star focus is the largest and most important exercises conducted by the Central Command, which is responsible for forces in the Middle East and Central Asia, to improve the fighting skills in the desert. They train the troops everything from how to keep their equipment in the dessert to how to communicate with each other and with the coalition forces.

The operation Bright Star for the year 2012 was suspended because of the January 25th Revolution of 2011. The Egyptian Government and the United States mutually agreed in August 2011 to postpone the 2012 exercise in light of ongoing transition events. The decision was reached as part of the routine bilateral conversations between the two countries⁽²¹³⁾. Furthermore, the Bright Star 2014 that should have taken place in September 2013, was annulled from the part of the American administration of President Barack Obama. This step was taken as a response for the Egyptian government evacuation of the two encampments by backers of ousted President Mohamed Morsi in Cairo, after six weeks of unauthorized sit-in⁽²¹⁴⁾.

However, during the last years of Mubarak's rule and with President Barack Obama coming into power in the United States with his new administration, he showed some positive vibes, to restore back the strength of the relations, despite the continuing existing differences over many issues. In that sense, it is worth mentioning that the American President Obama chose the Cairo University, the oldest Arab university in the modern history, to deliver his first speech to the Arab and Islamic worlds, during which he expressed his new concept of democratization in the region⁽²¹⁵⁾.

²¹³http://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2011/08/110817_bright_star.shtml.

²¹⁴<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/10246508/Barack-Obama-cancels-Operation-Bright-Star.html>.

²¹⁵<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09>.

The Arab- Israeli Conflict:

A new era of the relations with Tel- Aviv has started in Egypt with the arrival of President Mubarak to power in the country. He inaugurated his term with what is known as cold peace, despite the improvement in ties between both sides after the full Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula in April 1982, because of two factors. The first one was the Israeli invasion for Lebanon, while the second was the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories, which was strongly condemned from Cairo, and put the relations between the two countries in a state of permanent tension. Also the refusal of Tel - Aviv to pull out its forces from Taba⁽²¹⁶⁾.

At that period, the Egyptian government as mentioned before suspended all its official connections with Israel and refused a proposal from Tel- Aviv to hold a bilateral meeting to solve the Taba issue and it imposed many conditions for the return of the Egyptian ambassador to Israel and resume the normalization process between the two sides. Among these conditions were the complete withdrawal from the Lebanese territories and clarifying the officials who were responsible for executing the Sabra and Shatila massacres, in addition to putting forward a clear solution for the Palestinian cause that conserve the rights of the Palestinians. The Arab – Israeli conflict has always been on top of the Egyptian foreign policy priorities and the public opinion in Cairo has been active at that period as it expressed its disagreement with the recurrent Israeli violence against the Palestinian people and the air raiding of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981⁽²¹⁷⁾.

The tension between the two countries lasted until the year 1985 that witnessed visits from mutual official visits, in addition to convening three negotiating rounds about Taba with the participation of American

²¹⁶Ephraim Dowek, Israeli-Egyptian Relations 1980-2000, Psychology Press, 2001, p.270.

²¹⁷Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Egypt Islam And Democracy: Critical Essays, American University in Cairo Press, 2002, p.212).

experts yet it failed to reach any solution. Yet this improvement did not last for too long with the occurrence of two important incidences, namely the assassination of an Israeli diplomat in Cairo that was followed by another shooting for a group of Israeli tourists⁽²¹⁸⁾. In the year 1986, the relations endorsed little room of advancement with an American mediation when the Egyptian president Mubarak agreed to hold a meeting with the Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres. In the course of this reunion it was approved to forward the case of Taba for the international arbitration and to convene an international conference to settle the middle east conflict, a matter which was considered as a precedence in the history of this struggle⁽²¹⁹⁾.

Despite the intense exchange of visits between Cairo and Tel-Aviv during this period on the foreign ministers levels, yet no tangible progress had been achieved on the Arab- Palestinian conflict except for the withdrawal from Taba, but without any success on the other tracks. In the meantime, some voices inside Israel started to reject the idea of convening an international peace conference particularly after Yitzhak Shamir came as a prime minister in Israel⁽²²⁰⁾. The eruption of the first Palestinian intifada in December 1987 again had a negative impact on the peace process in the middle east, while Egypt persisted on its stance concerning the peace conference⁽²²¹⁾.

Since the Madrid peace conference that was held in the year 1991 the Egyptian foreign policy depended on using its regional weight and acted as a mediator to push the peace process in the Middle East, and to work with both the Palestinians and Israelis to conclude a fair agreement between them. Throughout these efforts, Egypt took advantage of its

²¹⁸ Abdelmoneim said, back to the line, Egypt and the Arab world, 1978-1988, al Mostkbal al Araby Publishings, Vol. 22, p.117, in Arabic Alawda Lel Saf, Masr Wa Alalam Alaraby, 1978-1988.

²¹⁹ Taylor & Francis Group, The Middle East and North Africa 2004, Psychology Press, 2003, p.534.

²²⁰ Hassan A. Barari, Israeli Politics and the Middle East Peace Process, 1988-2002, Routledge, 2004, p.50 .

²²¹ Zachary Lockman, Joel Beinin, Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation, South End Press, 1989, p.5-22.

swinging relations with Tel-Aviv and tried to revive the peace talks with the different Israeli governments that showed some flexibility, as the governments of Yitzhak Rabin, Ehud Barak and Shimon Peres. While during the presence of other governments as the governments of Ariel Sharon and Netanyahu the peace process suffered from big recession, a matter that was reflected on the Egyptian–Israeli relations and deepened the concept of cold peace between the two sides, which ended up with the withdrawal of the Egyptian ambassador to Tel-Aviv once again⁽²²²⁾.

Following the September 1993 Oslo accords, during which Israel and the Palestinian liberation organization (PLO), recognized each other through what was known as the declaration of principles, Egypt played a supporting role by encouraging both parties to uphold their commitments. In fact, Mubarak regime took this role seriously, it hosted many summits and meetings in Sharm el Sheikh throughout the 1990's and 2000's⁽²²³⁾.

In the year 2008, Egypt mediated a cessation of hostilities between Israel and Hamas. The agreement demanded Hamas to halt its rocket attacks on the Israeli cities and to put into effect a quiet period throughout Gaza strip. In return, Hamas presumed that the blockade on the strip to come to an end, and to recommence the trade, and truck consignments to 2005 levels, which was estimated between 500 and 600 trucks daily⁽²²⁴⁾. During the 2008-2009 Gaza War, Egypt condemned the Israeli attacks. Thus, during the united nations security council (UNSC) meeting Cairo affirmed that the crippling blockade enforced by Tel- Aviv is considered from the Egyptian point of view as a flagrant violation of Israel's responsibilities under international law, international humanitarian law and its obligations as an occupying authority. Moreover, it opened the Rafah Border Crossing to allow the injured into Egyptian hospitals.

²²²Dr. Gehad Ouda, challenges of Egyptian foreign policy making in the 21st century, Al-Marekh publishing 2004, p.222-261, in Arabic Tahdyat Senaeat Al Siyassa Al Kharegya Al Masrya Fi Al Karn Al Wahed Wa Eleshreen.

²²³Mohammed El-Nawawy, The Israeli-Egyptian Peace Process in the Reporting of Western Journalists, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002, p.25.

²²⁴http://www.un.org/press/en/2009/090115_Gaza.doc.htm

(Elizabeth Wilmshurst⁽²²⁵⁾), In addition, following the 2010 Israeli military raid on the Gaza freedom Flotilla, Mubarak censured the excessive and unjustified use of force from the part of Tel-Aviv, and the Egyptian Foreign Ministry summoned the Israeli ambassador in Cairo to express its denunciation. As well, he ordered the opening of the Egyptian border to Gaza to permit the humanitarian and medical aid inside the Gaza Strip⁽²²⁶⁾.

On the other hand, Egypt during Mubarak era played a crucial role in the mediation of the reconciliation process between the Palestinian factions Fatah and Hamas to resolve the hostility amid both since their conflict that took place in the period between 2006—2007 which resulted in Hamas' capture of Gaza Strip. In this regard it is worth mentioning that the first reconciliation agreement known as The Palestinian Cairo Declaration was signed 2005 by a broad spectrum of Palestinian factions, including Fatah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad, etc. It sought after shoring up of the status of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people through the participation of all factions to it according to democratic principles⁽²²⁷⁾. This step was followed by a number of rounds of negotiations that were held in different Arab capitals for the last 10 years. Yet, and in spite of the conclusion of a number of agreements, those reconciliation endeavors until this very recent moment have not been successful, as Hamas is still having full control on the Gaza Strip, regardless of the formation of a unity government in June 2014⁽²²⁸⁾.

In brief the Arab – Israeli conflict has always been one of the key priorities in the Egyptian foreign policy during Mubarak's era, as it dominated a huge part of the Egyptian foreign activity throughout those years. In this framework, it is worth to note that the Egyptian foreign policy in relation to the Palestinian cause is based on coherent principles that involves the importance of the withdrawal of Israel from all the

²²⁵ International Law and the Classification of Conflicts, OUP Oxford, 2012, p.282.

²²⁶ Ernest Tucker The Middle East in Modern World History, Routledge, 2016 p.355.

²²⁷ <https://web.archive.org/web/20070704163620/http://www.palestine-pmc.com/details.asp?cat=2&id=849>.

²²⁸ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27660218>.

occupied territories, and achieving just and comprehensive peace in the region. In addition to resolving of all the suspended issues.

Relations with Africa:

Concerning the relations with the Africa, the Mubarak era was characterized by a relative neglect to the black continent compared to Nasser's era for example. However, during the first years of Mubarak's rule, these relations witnessed cooperation in one of the most critical issues for Egypt that is the water issue. Therefore, it tried to gather all the Nile basin countries in an informal assembly called the "UNDUGO assembly" to organize the various fields of cooperation among all parties to maximize the benefits for all countries. In more details, the group which means brotherhood in Swahili language, was a purely Egyptian idea and includes most of the Nile Basin countries in East and Central Africa region, and its creation has been announced during the first ministerial conference of the Nile Basin countries, held in Khartoum in November 1983⁽²²⁹⁾.

The assembly aimed at augmenting consultation and coordination of positions between the member countries towards regional issues, besides enhancing the cooperation between the assembly members in the field of development. Moreover, the assembly aspired to exchange of experiences in all fields in order to support regional cooperation, as well as supporting the economic integration between the different member states. Nevertheless, this gathering encountered many obstacles that prevented the achievement of its objectives and the most important of these obstacles were the lack of sufficient funding to finance its projects, and the constant competition between Ethiopia and Sudan to host the permanent follow-up committee⁽²³⁰⁾.

²²⁹P. P. Howell, J. A. Allan, *The Nile: Sharing a Scarce Resource: A Historical and Technical Review of Water Management and of Economical and Legal Issues*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.360.

²³⁰ <http://www.sis.gov.eg/Ar/Templates/Articles/tmpArticles.aspx?CatID=145#.V0 4cPI97IU>.

In addition, Cairo participated with the organization of African unity (AOU) in tangible efforts to solve the regional conflict as in Chad, Mauritania, and Senegal, as it believed in the importance of resolving these disputes to give a chance for those countries to achieve real development for themselves and their societies. Therefore, these efforts were gelled with the establishment of a mechanism to prevent, manage and resolve the African conflicts that came out during the African summit in 1993. Moreover, Egypt is considered as one of the largest contributors in the African union, as well as the peacekeeping operations in the continent⁽²³¹⁾.

Despite the Egyptian activities and interests in Africa, yet the foreign policy of Mubarak towards Africa needed more concentration and focus on the neglected aspects. For instance, the Egyptian participation in the African summits and conferences on the presidential level, that has been so limited or nearly disappeared, since the failed attempt to assassinate president Mubarak in June 1995, in Addis Ababa while he was attending the summit of the Organization of African Unity (AOU)⁽²³²⁾.

On the other hand, Egypt established the African cooperation fund which is affiliated to the ministry of foreign affairs in 1980 to be responsible for providing funds for the development projects in the different African countries. Furthermore, it aims at sharing the Egyptian experience in several fields as, agriculture, irrigation, medicine and education which are considered as vital fields needed by the African countries. However, the budget of this fund has always faced a problem of insufficiency and limitation despite the trials to increase this budget from one side and to encourage the Egyptian business community to explore their chances in Africa⁽²³³⁾.

²³¹Deych, Tatiana, Zhukov, Alexander Africa's Growing Role in World Politics, MeaBooks Inc, 2016, p.19.

²³²<https://nsarchive.wordpress.com/2011/02/04/document-friday-mubarak-al-bashir-al-zawahiriand-bin-laden-the-1995-assassination-attempt-in-addis-ababa/>.

²³³<http://www.siyassa.org.eg/NewsContent/6/52/3081/%D8%A3%D9%86%D8%B4%D8%B7%D8%A9%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%A9%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%88%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A9/%D8%AD%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%86%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B>

The Mubarak regime tried to face the weak trade levels with the African states which didn't manage to exceed 1% of its total foreign commercial relations with the whole world. thus, he was encouraged to face this fact and enhance the trade and not to stop at the already signed 29 bilateral trade agreements with the continent. Accordingly, Mubarak decided to join the agreement of the Common Market For East And South Africa (COMESA) in 1998, a market which embraces 21 countries with more than 300 million population at that time, aiming at substituting the reduction of the Egyptian exports to Europe and to get the raw materials with lower prices⁽²³⁴⁾.

Also, the Egyptian diplomacy tried hard to find a proper mechanism to enhance the European – African relations, a matter which has been crystallized successfully by convening the first Euro- African summit in Cairo in the year 2000. From his part the former Egyptian foreign minister Ahmed Abou Elgheit mentioned that, all the critics to Egypt about the regression of its role in Africa are not really true, because Cairo nowadays is present in Africa, but in a different way than that of the fifties and sixties, when it used to help the African liberation movements. Yet, at the moment it plays an important role in the development of the black continent through pumping investments and sending experts in all fields⁽²³⁵⁾.

Relations with Europe and the Mediterranean:

As mentioned before the foreign policy during Mubarak's period aspired at regaining or restoring the balance in its external relations as well as expanding the margin of movement for the Egyptian administration in the course of this time. Mubarak regime through reinforcing its ties with Europe and the Mediterranean did not aim at substituting its connections

[4/%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%B5-%D9%84%D9%80%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%A9%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%88%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A9%20.aspx.](#)

²³⁴ OECD, OECD Investment Policy Reviews, Egypt 2007, OECD Publishing, 2007, p.19.

²³⁵ My testimony, the Egyptian foreign policy 2004-011, Aboulgheit, Ahmed, 2013, Dar Nahdet Masr for publishing, in Arabic, Shehadaty Al Siyassa al Kharegia al masrya 2004-2011, p:307-328.

with a superpower as the United States, but he believed that the relations with a player like Europe would give Cairo more influence. Moreover, he perceived Europe as an international power that is capable of exerting pressure on Israel to push the peace process forward. As well, Mubarak understood that enhancing the bonds with Europe would assist the country to overcome its problems of foreign debts, through either rescheduling or cancelling them.

In that context, Cairo started taking several steps throughout this path, as inviting Spain and Italy in 1990, to convene an international conference on security and cooperation between the Mediterranean countries. Thus, in December 1990 a high official meeting was held with the participation of official from many Mediterranean countries among them was Spain. On the other hand, and as part of Barcelona process Egypt started in 1995 negotiations with the European union that lasted more than four years which ended by the signing of the association agreement to develop cooperation relations between them in certain fields in 2001⁽²³⁶⁾.

The Euro- Egyptian relations developed on two main levels, the bilateral level, as Europe is considered as the main or the trade partner for Egypt, as it represents 40% of its trade and is considered as the first trade partner for Cairo. Also, the EU is considered as the main source of tourism for Egypt and it is the second main investor and the second biggest aid donor. Therefore, all these aspects drove Egypt to develop its relations with the EU since 1977, by signing the first cooperation agreement that has developed gradually to reach this agreement in the year 2002.

While the second level is the multi- lateral Mediterranean level which started with the Barcelona conference in 1995 with the participation of 27 countries on both the Mediterranean which ended by the announcing the "Barcelona declaration" to enhance the cooperation in three main

²³⁶ Gamal M. Selim, *The International Dimensions of Democratization in Egypt: The Limits of Externally-Induced Change*, Springer, 2015, p.80

fields⁽²³⁷⁾. These arenas include Political and Security issues, Economic and financial and social and cultural cooperation. The Barcelona process throughout all these years has faced a lot of problems with the deadlock of the peace process in the Middle East, the matter that affected its achievement of any success.

Thus, and in a trial to face this failure the former French president Nicolas Sarkozy, proposed to revive the Barcelona process by launching in 2008, the Union for the Mediterranean (UFM), which was formed by 40 countries by Co- Chairmanship of both the former Egyptian president Mubarak and Sarkozy. The idea of the union is to focus on the implementation of development related projects in different fields as education, health and energy for the southern Mediterranean countries⁽²³⁸⁾.

The European Union (EU) is considered as Egypt's biggest trading partner at this time accounting for 42% of Egyptian exports and 37% of imports according to the estimations of the year 2004. This was the year that witnessed the entry into force of the association agreement between the two sides, however the trade balance until now is still in favor for the EU⁽²³⁹⁾.

Egypt's main exports to the EU are energy, textiles and clothing, agricultural products, and chemicals. Major imports from the EU are the power generating machinery, chemicals, transport equipment, and food and agricultural products. Trade relations with the EU are good although there are several outstanding trade and sanitary issues. These range from market access issues and difficulties for businesses facing a highly regulated and complex system to restrictions in the export of agricultural

²³⁷https://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/pdf/policy/barcelona_declaration.pdf.

²³⁸the Egyptian foreign policy between Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Al- Sadat and Hosni Mubarak, al Syiassa al Kharigia al Masreyabein Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar al- Sadat and Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian council of foreign affairs, Awrak Publication , vol.: 11 , June 2011.

²³⁹http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2004/june/tradoc_117680.pdf.

goods as the potatoes and fishery products since they do not conform with EU quality standards⁽²⁴⁰⁾.

On the level of the Egyptian relations with the Mediterranean, Egypt has always represented a link between two civilizations, yet many factors have played roles in hindering the enhancement of these relations, and many Egyptian thinkers have always highlighted the emphasis of Mediterranean identity over the other identities. It is worth to note that one of the most important preoccupations for the Egyptian foreign policy during the last two decades of Mubarak's regime was the increasing gap between the north and the south. This concern mounted owing to its negative impact not only on the relations between them, but, also on the stability of the whole international system. Accordingly, Egypt has always insisted on rifting this gap through an effective dialogue, a matter that drove Egypt with a group of countries of the southern hemisphere to establish a forum, under that name of G 15. This group aims at starting an effective south – south cooperation at first step, then to open up a useful dialogue with the developed countries of the north cooperation as a later stage⁽²⁴¹⁾. The G 15 is considered as one of the most important informal cooperative models between countries of the South, which forms a nucleus for regional cooperation, through implementing of projects among its members initially, then among the rest of the third world countries as a next step. Therefore, they are working in an integrative framework to serve the Third World issues in the areas of economic and social development. The idea of the establishment of the group dates back to the call made by President Alan Garcia, the former president of Peru to hold a consultative and cooperative conference between countries of the South, during the 9th summit of the Non-Aligned Movement that was held in Belgrade in September 1989⁽²⁴²⁾.

²⁴⁰<http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/egypt/>

²⁴¹ G 15 and south–south cooperation, promise and performance, Kripa Sridharan, third world quarterly, vol :19 , No: 3, pp: 357 -373, 1998)

²⁴² <http://g15.org/member-countries-2/historical-background/>.

The group was formed at the beginning by 15 of the Non-Aligned countries, namely: Egypt, Senegal, Algeria, Zimbabwe and Nigeria as representatives the African continent, besides India, Malaysia and Indonesia, on behalf of the continent of Asia, in addition to Peru, Jamaica, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela for Latin America, and Yugoslavia on the continent of Europe. Then Chile joined in 1991 instead of Yugoslavia, and in the 7th summit of the Group that was held in Kuala Lumpur in 1997 Kenya joined, followed by Sri Lanka, which applied for membership to the group at the 8th summit in Cairo in May 1998. The G 15 adopts several goals, mainly enhancing Coordination between the member countries in the economic and financial fields, strengthening the South- South dialogue to reach a comprehensive cooperation among developing countries, and nourishing the of dialogue between North and South in order to establish equal relations between them.

Additionally, the group endeavors at working to solve the worsening debt problem in the Third World, and trying to develop a common format for these countries to negotiating with the major industrialized countries. Moreover, the group aims to exchanging of views on the international economic situation and its implications, as well as examining the position of developing countries of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations, and the subsequent establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO), and their impact on economic and trade situation of these countries⁽²⁴³⁾.

Mubarak regime ruled Egypt for three decades until the January 2011 revolution erupted as a direct result for many reasons- that will be discussed in details in the next chapter-, yet amongst the causes of the 2011 uprising were the ban on political and civil rights, and corruption. In addition to the augmenting unemployment, as well as inflation and low-income rates. Mubarak took the least interest in the socio-economic welfare of the people, which turned the Egyptians against him. Apart from

²⁴³http://www.sis.gov.eg/Ar/Templates/Articles/tmpArticles.aspx?CatID=439#.V09Gb_l97IV.

domestic causes, Egypt's pro-West and idle policies towards the Palestinian issue were the sources of frustration and disappointment among the people against Mubarak. Furthermore, the Tunisian bloodless revolution also inspired the Egyptian people to take to the streets and stand up against the government. However, this will be discussed later in details in the next chapter⁽²⁴⁴⁾.

Stages of Development of the Egyptian Regional Role from 1952- 2011:

The determinants of the Egyptian national security could be divided into two main levels: the first one, is the external level which is directly linked or attached to Egypt's regional role in relation to three prime issues, mainly the Arab - Israeli conflict, the Nile water, and maintaining the balance in the Middle East region. While the second level is the internal one, which mainly involves the protection of national unity, and the fight against terrorism. As the revolution of July 23rd, 1952 is regarded as a reference point in the history of contemporary Egypt, with the founding of the first republic in 1954, the regional role of Egypt could be parted into four general stages between the rise, decline, renewal and retreat as follows:

The Rise Stage:

This stage started off since the July 1952 until June 1967, it commenced with the July Revolution that inaugurated the Republican regime in Egypt as mentioned in advance, and it was considered as one of the repercussions of the war on Palestine in 1948. As a result, in the following years, the hostility to Israel was the ruling feature of Nasser's regime in dealing with the Arab - Israeli conflict. All through this era Egypt has sought to form a unified Arab position with Cairo in its center, a matter which resulted in the establishment of the United Arab Republic in 1958.

²⁴⁴<http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/feb/17/what-caused-egyptian-revolution>.

On the other hand, in order to reach an evacuation treaty with Britain in 1954, Egypt has recognized the right of self-determination for Sudan. The matter which resulted in the declaration of independence of Sudan in 1956, a step that was followed by, the signing of the Nile waters agreement in 1959 between Cairo and Khartoum, which is a legal framework that command full control utilization of the Nile waters⁽²⁴⁵⁾.

The Recession or Decline Stage:

This period has extended according to some opinions from June 1967 until August 1990, where the setback in June 1967 led to the decline of the Nasserist tide. Then, Egypt entered into a step where it had to rebuild its military capacity, which was followed by reforming of the political foundation, by President Anwar Sadat who took the power in 1970. Only one year after he sent away his political adversaries, namely, the leaders of the Nasser regime, a measure that was identified as the movement of re-correction in May 15, 1971.

The October 1973 triumph has lifted up the shares of the Sadat regime in the Arab world. it restored back to Egypt's its long-established role in preserving the balance of power in the region, a status or situation which was soon altered to the opposite with the visit of president Sadat to Jerusalem in 1977, a step that ended up with the signing of the Egyptian - Israeli peace treaty in 1979.

The peace with Israel led to the suspension of Egypt's membership in the Arab League, and the relocation of its General secretariat headquarters to Tunisia. These developments were coincided with the emergence of an Egyptian political orientation of "Egypt comes first", which omitted an essential geo-strategic element, which is that the

²⁴⁵K. Mekonnen, The Defects and Effects of Past Treaties and Agreements on the Nile River Waters: Whose Faults Were they? (1999). <http://www.ethiopians.com/abay/engin.html>.)

Egyptian national security boundaries area way beyond its geographical boundaries.

On the other hand, a project of integration has emerged between Egypt and Sudan in the era of President Gaafar Nimeiri. Thus, one of its important stations was the signing of a joint defense agreement between the two countries on May 15th, 1976. (A History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day, P. M. Holt, M. W. Daly, p:146, Routledge). Also, this phase witnessed the deterioration of Egypt's relations with the regime of Mengistu Halammeraam in Ethiopia, who was ousted in May 28th, 1991.

The Renovation or Renewal Stage:

This phase lasted from August 1990 until September 2000, where the former president, Hosni Mubarak, has called for the convention of an emergency Arab summit in Cairo to discuss the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. This summit resulted in the consensus of the Arab States around the Egyptian vision of the need for the withdrawal of Saddam Hussein's forces from Kuwait and freeing it even by force, if the Iraqi regime refused to pull out its troops.

Later on this step led to the participation of most of the Arab countries in a broad US-led international coalition to liberate the occupied country, which granted more legitimacy to this alliance. In return the Egyptian debts were reduced, and Cairo embarked in cooperation with Bretton Woods institutions to start an economic reform program in the nineties of the past century, and then it entered in 1995 in discussions with the European Community to reach a partnership agreement between the two sides.

This phase was accompanied with a new role which is different from what it looked like in the pre-reverse phase. This new task was revealed or displayed in the increased Egyptian interest in the Gulf

security, together with intensified activity of the Egyptian diplomacy in the peace process in the Middle East, a role that was welcomed by many countries in the region such as Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon as well as other Arab Gulf states.

The same period witnessed the launch of Egypt's ferocious combat against terrorism, which one of its rounds was the assassination trial of the former president Mubarak in Addis Ababa, during his participation in the African summit in June 1995. A matter which resulted in tension in Egypt's relations with the Salvation Front regime in Sudan, and stagnation in the Egyptian-Ethiopian relations, as well as, the presidential absenteeism from the participation in all the following African summits, since then and until Mubarak's ouster. This was accompanied by a relative withdrawal of Egypt's away from its African surrounding; in conjunction with its full involvement in the peaceful settlement in the Middle East conflict.

The Regression or Retreat Phase:

This phase began in September 2000 until the ouster of Mubarak, in February 2011, where this phase has seen the collapse of the Camp David II negotiations, in July 2000 between the Palestinians and the Israelis. This took place in association with the visit of the head of the Israeli Likud Party at that point of time, Ariel Sharon, to Al-Aqsa mosque in September of the same year, a matter which resulted in the outburst of the second Palestinian uprising, known as "Al-Aqsa uprising".

As a result of this eruption of cycle of violence between Israelis and Palestinians, and the waning of opportunities and prospects of peaceful settlement between the two sides, the regional role exerted by Egypt during the nineties of the past century in the circle of the Arab-Israeli conflict has retreated to a great extent.

This was reflected on the balance of power in the region, which was displayed by the extended role of other regional powers, as Iran based on its emerging nuclear capabilities, in which it sponsored the resistance movements, and it was directed to what was called the "axis of objection and resistance", in which Iran, Syria, Libya and Yemen as well as Hezbollah and Hamas formed an anti-Western and anti-Israeli alliance⁽²⁴⁶⁾.

in the face of the "axis of moderation" led by Egypt and other Arab states⁽²⁴⁷⁾. From its part, Turkey has sought to leave behind the traditional pivotal role between the Arab and Western worlds, to play a central role, where the most prominent feature of it was taking on a balanced policy towards the Arab - Israeli conflict.

On the Arab level, some peripheral countries, such as Qatar tried to play a bigger role even more than its geo-strategic capabilities. While, the late Libyan president Gaddafi took advantage of the occupation of Cairo in the peaceful settlement issue, to set sights on Africa, and sought to exercise, such a conceited responsibility or role in which he spent much of the wealth of the Libyan people.

In spite of the Egyptian–Sudanese rapprochement on the background of international choking of the Bashir regime to reach a comprehensive peace agreement with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement. Yet, this did not really put a stop to the widening of the divide among the Nile basin countries, culminating with four of these countries signing in May 14th, 2010 the "Entebbe Framework Convention for the redistribution of the Nile basin countries water quotas".

²⁴⁶Sullivan, Marisa (April 2014), Hezbollah in Syria (PDF), Institute for the Study of War) (Drums Of War: Israel And The "AXIS OF RESISTANCE" (PDF), International Crisis Group, 2 August 2010).

²⁴⁷ <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2013/09/27/The-Arab-axis-of-moderation-needs-help.html>.

CHAPTER 5

THE ARAB SPRING

Chapter 5

The Arab spring

Regional and Domestic Changes Affecting Egypt Before The Arab Spring:

The 25th of January revolution, brought to light the fact that Egypt after this historical event, will never be the same as before, as it has affected all its policies on the internal and external levels. Though, some points of views have passed judgment on the regression of Egypt's regional role during Mubarak's era, which had an effect on the whole Arab system and led to the emergence of other regional powers, namely Turkey, Iran, and even Arab countries as Qatar. Yet, the defenders of the ousted president Mubarak's foreign policy claimed that the transformations in the Middle East region, impinged on this policy, as the logic that ruled the region during the 1950's and 1960's has passed through many big changes and was totally different from the one during the 70's and after.

Also, they argued that Egypt before 1967 was totally different from Egypt after this critical and important year, which witnessed a heavy military defeat from Israel which led to the occupation of Sinai Peninsula. Prior to 1967 Cairo had a prominent and leading position, yet some developments that took place on two main levels.

The number one level is the regional level, as mentioned earlier, with the rise of rivals, as well as the alteration in the nature and status of the Arab states itself with the upsurge of oil resources and its revenues. This opened the door in front of some of them, as Qatar to try to play a bigger role in the Arab world and compete with Egypt.

While the second level, involves the changes that took place on the domestic level, namely the dramatic growth of population and its socio-economic influences, a matter which affected the foreign policy

making in Egypt both regionally and internationally⁽²⁴⁸⁾. The 25th of January revolution started off as peaceful demonstrations in Cairo's and the Egyptian governorates main squares where thousands of youth gathered through the social media means namely, Facebook and twitter. However, the Egyptian security apparatus and the regime didn't have any strategies to deal with these protests, despite its fast pace especially after the fall of Ben Ali's regime in Tunisia just two weeks before.

Mubarak regime at that very specific point of time was facing many problems and dilemmas, mainly the social and political stagnation in a way that became unsatisfactory for the ambitions of the vast majority of the Egyptian people with all its sects especially the youth, which constitutes around 60% of the Egyptian society.

The revolution exposed the fragility of the Mubarak regime, which forced him to step down and submit the power to the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF). These changes took place after the rapid development of the events and the mounting of the slogans demanding the regime to step down and calling for the liberty, dignity and improving the economic conditions as well as realizing the social equality and democracy.

Contemporary Challenges Facing the Egyptian National Security since 2011:

International relations scholars and researchers have always underscored that the foreign policy of any nation is no more than an extension of its domestic politics, a matter which entails that it should work for the orientation and general policies of the country internally. Nonetheless, this relation has deepened along with the increased effect of the globalization and the exchange of information and knowledge, in such a way that made it tremendously difficult to make a real distinction between the internal policies and foreign policies of a state.

²⁴⁸ The revolution and Egypt's regional and international role, Althawra Wadormasraleklimywaaldawli, in Arabic, Al Sayed Amin Shalabi, March 14th, 2011, Almasry Elyoum

Not only this, but it became extremely arduous to make this separation between the domestic, regional and international effects on the strategic surroundings of a country. This played an important role in the advent of new varieties of diplomacy that reflects the spirit and nature of the current era and its challenges as well as the ruling systems and its goals like the public diplomacy as an example.

As for the Middle East region it is worth mentioning that the whole region has been passing throughout a period of deep changes since long time, which threat not only the national interest of some countries but their existences as well, a matter which inflict a number of exceptional challenges on the national security of Egypt as:

- 1- The incessant wave of terrorism that face the region, which has been launched by the terrorist allegedly Islamist organizations as Al- Qaeda in the past and currently, the Islamic state in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). These organizations aim at founding an Islamic kalifate that goes against the components of the traditional national country, as known in the modern history, ever since the Westphalia agreement. This adversely influenced both the geopolitical and the political map of the region, as acknowledged since the termination of world war I and the fall down of the ottoman empire. This matter imposes a real challenge to Egypt, especially with the presence of those jihadists groups in Sinai peninsula as well as on its western and southern borders in the same time, in addition to the existence of dormant cells that belong to those groups in the Egyptian depth not only on the borders. And above all, the continuation of smuggling of arms and drugs into Egypt.
- 2- The alteration of the relation between the state and the people, on account of the wave of Arab spring revolutions that hit the region in 2011, and the increased number of the well-educated youth with his new ideas, principles and ambitions.

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- 3- The increased and intensified effect of the public opinion in formulating the policies of the country, not only the internal ones but also the external, a matter which led -as mentioned before- to the polarization state. This emerged from the lack of recognition of the extent of transformation and change in the perceptions and beliefs of the society, particularly among the youth.
 - 4- The relative diminution of the strategic significance of the gulf area in the American foreign policy as a result of the modifications and transformations in the internal energy map, with the lessened weight and dependence on the oil and natural gas, a matter that transformed the American policies towards the whole region.
 - 5- The alteration in the relationship between Egypt and its neighbors of the Nile basin countries, on the background of the tension that broke out after the refusal of Cairo to sign the "framework agreement of the Nile basin countries", that allowed Ethiopia to construct the "renaissance dam". This step would negatively affect the Egyptian share of water in particular during the period of its filling, and might endanger the water security of the country, and put it under the control of Addis Ababa in the future, a situation that is unprecedented and hazardous for Egypt.
 - 6- The worsening economic situation as a consequence of the instability that Egypt faced over the last five years since the January revolution. In that sense, it is worth to be mentioned that the economic indicators had depreciated to its lowest levels and the reserve of the foreign currency lessened considerably.
 - 7- The deterioration of the Egypt's relations with other states in the region as Turkey and Qatar, on the background of the difference in the points of views and policies, regarding the dealing with the various political Islam groups and currents in the whole region, in addition to, the Qatari and Turkish relationships with the banned Muslim brotherhood.

8- The tension in the ties between Egypt and the United States in relation to the American policies in the Middle East region, which endeavor to instigate the so called "greater Middle East project". This project aims at altering and transforming the Arab identity via dissolving the Arab world in a bigger and larger entity that is more diverse ethnically religiously, and breaking down the Arab countries on these bases. While, the other reason for the tension between Washington and Cairo is a result of the backing of the Egyptian army to the protestors on the 30th of June revolution, which was meant for re-correcting the January's revolution pathway and bringing the Muslim brotherhood regime to an end.

The change of the security concept itself by means of the digital revolution in all domains and the development of new soft threats for the national security of the nations and states a matter which puts more burden on the Egyptian diplomacy.

The Transformation Process of the Middle East Region in the Wake of The Arab Spring:

Before discussing the Egyptian revolution of January 2011, an overview and analysis of the Middle East region since the Arab spring should be demonstrated in this next part. From the time when the Arab uprisings started, the political order in the Middle East region has been denoted by substantial alterations and variations within every single state at the national level in the most vital region in the global geostrategic configuration.

The uniqueness and remarkability of the Arab region has come to an end, inasmuch as the structures and balances of emerging powers in the late 1970s, transforming since the end of the Cold War, have been changed⁽²⁴⁹⁾

²⁴⁹ (ÜLGEN, S., et al., Emerging Order in the Middle East. Washington, D.C, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012.)

With the end of Gulf War, the security menaces and strains became more intense among the Middle East countries, a matter that resulted in direct or indirect clashes intimidating their social and political as well as economic security. The danger of the interstate hostility has been manifested in different, new and more serious approaches in the context of the Arab Spring, at a sub-state level, but with extremely eminent implications on the regional stability and the international security. In brief, the Middle East is undergoing a process of development of a new security order and regional re-configuration.

The Arab uprisings have unbridled or unchecked the internal dynamics of protest in the region as well as the political change in most of its states. The Middle East region is at a crossroads, facing a number of security defies both from neighboring countries such as Israel, Turkey and Iran.

The Arab Spring burst out in the course of a deep structural transformation in the Middle East region⁽²⁵⁰⁾The 2011 awakening aspired at terminating the deep-rooted authoritarian paradigm, founded by Arab regimes for decades, to establish new systems based on social equality and justice. In next to no time, these first impressions mismatched and contravened with the geopolitical genuineness of the Arab regional system as enshrined throughout history⁽²⁵¹⁾.

The key pleas of the Arab revolts concentrated on achieving freedom, good governance and social justice, with the foreign policy being kept on the back - burner. The upheavals have led to a major alteration in the status of the Arab populations, as they turned to be more effective and active actors in the political scene in those countries, where in earlier times they were considered as the missing equation in power relations. This shift of power to the people is exhibited in the fact that they are here and now

²⁵⁰ RÓZSA, E., *Geo-Strategic Consequences of the Arab Spring*. Barcelona, European Institute of the Mediterranean, 2013.

²⁵¹ SALLOUKH, B., "The Arab Uprisings and the Geopolitics of the Middle East". Roma, The International Spectator. Italian Journal of International Affairs, 2013.

aware of their ability to mobilize, demonstrate and fairly vote, a matter that would lead to a real transformation and bring improvement in the power and capacity of Arab societies⁽²⁵²⁾.

The transitions in the Arab countries have their political, socioeconomic and geostrategic implications, the matter that represents a challenge for these states. In addition, this deft would either unveil a number of alternative versions of a new regional order, promote the continuation of the division of individual states⁽²⁵³⁾.

The configuration of power has shifted in the Middle East over the past years since the Arab awakening in 2011, through the subsequent tendencies, firstly, the emergence of people's power and domestic discontent with the former ruling regimes as in the case of Tunisia and Egypt. secondly, the proliferation of civil wars like the situation in both Libya and Syria, and finally the increased competition among Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey. Consequently, the sum of these trends will restructure the geostrategic vision for the region in the years ahead.

As for the paradigm of the power of people, it is worth to mention that the political scene in the Arab spring was mobilized and dominated by the middle class forces who were hunting for the founding of a new just and free socio-political system within their societies. In both Egypt and Tunisia people succeeded in carrying out a peaceful struggle for their dignity, a matter that created a new model of change that involved the mobilization of the different sectors of the society through mass protests in the streets, preceded by the youth using the social media as an innovative tool of political activism.

In addition to the impulsive and unprompted nature of the protests, one of the most striking features of the Arab Spring is the lack of

²⁵² ÜLGEN, S., op. cit, p 3.

²⁵³ SALEM, P., *The Middle East: Evolution of a Broken Regional Order*. Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, D.C, 2008.

dominant political or organizational force. The new distribution of power that emerged from this included the legalization of Islamist movements which were until then repressed and marginalized⁽²⁵⁴⁾. Yet the most important remains the fact that the Arab Spring ascertained that the Arab people are as well capable of making the first move towards the change and democratic transformation²⁵⁵.

In the case of both Cairo and Tunis, it is worth to mention that the atmosphere of hope and euphoria of the Arab uprisings has declined to a certain extent by time. The Tunisian transition has been much quieter compared to the Egyptian, especially in relation to the challenge of reaching a national consensus about the drafting of the constitution and the rule of the Al-Nahda Party.

Yet, the emergence of a Salafist movement represented a fundamental challenge to Tunisian civil society. After months of clashes, apprehension, doubt and ideological polarization as well as political assassinations, the main actors of public and political life have managed to agree on a formula of coexistence, arrayed in a constitution that has been described as "the most liberal in the Arab world."

Accordingly, it was confirmed that the Arab states which possess competent institutions and a substantial middle class, have the potential for a safer political transition without violence. The aspect of aggression and bloodshed was not an element in the revolutionary imagination of the people in both countries. The masses just wanted to face the authoritarianism and repression by demanding "bread, freedom, social justice and dignity".

The other paradigm that faced the Arab spring was the proliferation of civil war in a number of countries as Libya, Syria and

²⁵⁴ RÓZSA, E., op. cit, p. 6

²⁵⁵ (RÓZSA, E., op. cit, p. 11

Yemen. For instance, the civil war in Libya fired up when the people rose non-peacefully against the Gaddafi regime who ruled the country for more than forty years without attaining any development or progress in the country. The eruption of the civil war in Libya reflects the fragility of the middle class, in addition to the lack of any civil society or state institutions.

After the fall of the Gaddafi regime, military bases fell into the hands of rebel fighters and Libyan mercenaries during a civil war that swiftly created a geopolitical tension zone. In addition, weapons were smuggled to the radical groups as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and they were able to extend their control in the Sahel zone. Thus, a state of instability and tensions has been created among different international actors such as, Mauritania, Morocco, Mali, Mauritania, and Libya as well as Niger, until the West African region. As a direct result, both Sinai Peninsula and Gaza strip were the earliest recipients of all kinds of light and heavy weapons.

The civil war scene in Libya embraced two main threats on the region. At the outset, the emergence of radical Islamist groups and on top of them Islamic state in Iraq and Syria (ISIS or Daesh), a matter which created instability and shifted the power away from the state institutions, dividing them among the different Islamist groups and the state. While, the other threat is the spread of arms trafficking in the whole region through the borders of the neighboring countries.

Moreover, the weak structure of the Libyan state after the civil war and the failure to rebuild its institutions, especially the security sector, produced a vacuum, which became manifested in the continuous clashes and fighting among the various factions in the country. Therefore, the transformation process in Libya has founded a weak state with fragile socio-political forces, a matter that opened the door towards more geopolitical chaos in the region.

On the other hand, the Syrian uprising began as peaceful demonstrations calling for the accomplishment of tangible political reforms and social justice, yet it ended up with a sectarian civil war. It is argued that the massive use of force by the government led to the radicalization and militarization of the opposition. The civil war in Syria has led to a vicious circle of violence and conflict, based on the sectarian polarization among the multiple factions and religious groups in the Syrian society.

The convolution or the complexity of the Syrian dispute stems from the sectarian violence in the context of a broader proxy war between the world powers along with other regional powers in a repetition of the same scenario that took place in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Regardless of the international efforts to resolve the ongoing conflict since 2011, which left behind thousands of deaths, and millions of refugees, as well as the destruction of its infrastructure and historical patrimony, Syria remains the main victim of this confrontation.

As for the increased geostrategic competition between some regional powers in the middle east, namely, Saudi Arabia and Iran has triggered struggles throughout the whole region in a number of countries as Iraq, Lebanon, and Bahrain, as well as Syria, thus switching the region into one geopolitical Great Game⁽²⁵⁶⁾. This rivalry is manifested in several aspects, for instance the competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran stems from a sectarian identity conflict arising during the early periods of Islam, and maybe before that as the roots of the conflict date back to a contention between Arabs and Persians⁽²⁵⁷⁾.

The sectarian issue is considered the cornerstone in this rivalry between Riyadh and Tehran, with tensions between Sunnis and Shiites. Seeing that the Islamic belief of Saudi Arabia is the Sunnism, which does

²⁵⁶ MABON, S., "The Middle Eastern Great Game". Zürich, ISN-ETH, International Relations and Security Network, 2013, p. 2.

²⁵⁷ MABON, S. op, cit. p 4.

not accept Shia Muslim, as true believers. Religion is considered one of the most sensitive concerns for both states that grant the ruling regimes there, the political and religious legitimacy in both Riyadh and Tehran.

This legitimacy is indispensable for the consolidation of power domestically and internationally, as both Saudi Arabia and Iran face strong internal challenges from their people. Given the importance for the two countries in relation to the religious factor, Islam is interpreted into terms of a competition for the leadership of the Islamic nation, which lends legitimacy to a conflict.

The other determining factor in this rivalry is the geopolitical dimension of the conflict that is crystallized in the Iranian and Saudi regional security strategies. As for Tehran, its regime is in favor of creating a centralized security approach in the Gulf, in contrast to Riyadh who looks to external actors, especially the United States, to guarantee its national and regional security. This crossover of national interest, pushes the entire region into a power game⁽²⁵⁸⁾.

The decomposition of the Saddam's regime in Iraq as a regional power after the US invasion in 2003, was received by both Riyadh and Tehran as an occasion or a chance to extend their hegemony over the Gulf region. Up to that time, Saddam Hussein represented the equilibrium point in the regional powers game, yet his downfall resulted in a vacuum of power that has triggered these certain actions and policies in the regional dynamics for the successive decades.

Hence, both Saudi Arabia and Iran tried to fill this gap by functioning beyond their own borders. In the post-Saddam era, Tehran has granted financial and military support through the Iranian Revolutionary Guard and Shiite factions in Iraq. On the other hand, the performance of Riyadh in Iraq is more difficult to distinguish, often financing and supporting Iraqi Sunni groups. Moreover, Iran is suffering the loss of its

²⁵⁸ BRADLEY, J., "Iran's Ethnic Tinderbox". Washington D. C, the Washington Quarterly. Vol. 30, 2007.

impact in the Levant region because of the Arab Spring for the reason of its support for the Syrian regime⁽²⁵⁹⁾.

Then again, the mounting role of non-state actors, namely, Hezbollah in Lebanese politics, represent a worrying defy to Saudi Arabia. While Iran provided support for Hezbollah, when it came into view in the 1980s, Saudi Arabia is unwilling to offer help to the group, with its Shiite convictions and faiths as well as its close ties to Iran. Tensions between Hezbollah and the Council of the Gulf Cooperation have been escalating especially in the aftermath of the Syrian civil war, owing to the participation of Hezbollah in the conflict on the side of the Syrian army.

Saudi Arabia's attitude towards the Arab risings in 2011 was determined by its own purposes, namely, cutting off the country from the "winds of change", and maintaining the existence of the neighboring monarchical regimes in the gulf and in the same time undermining Iranian regime power and influence in the region. In this context, Riyadh used its military and financial power, along with its political influence to keep in check the impacts of the protests in the Arabian Peninsula, specifically in Bahrain and Yemen. Correspondingly, the Saudi regime extended its financial assistance to reinforce other monarchies in the Middle East region as Morocco and Jordan against popular reformist mobilization⁽²⁶⁰⁾.

The Arab spring have similarly changed the role of both Qatar and Turkey in the region. hence, the two countries started to leave behind their old pragmatic positions and proclaimed a new regional role after the Arab Spring. For instance, Doha made use of its relations with the Muslim Brotherhood and the political and financial cooperation with Islamist parties that took power in some states to bolster its geopolitical position. Accordingly, the Qatari owned Al Jazeera channel has played a momentous role in the intensification of the protests all over the Arab region.

²⁵⁹ RÓZSA, E., op. cit, p. 18.

²⁶⁰ SALLOUKH, B., op. cit.

Similarly, Turkey has emerged in this period as a power that generates the equilibrium between Arab countries, standing between Sunnis and Shiites. Ankara's power was clearly growing in the region before the Arab spring due to the foreign policy of 'zero problems'⁽²⁶¹⁾. This initiative was based on the expansion of Turkish influence in the region, playing a constructive role in regional conflicts⁽²⁶²⁾.

Yet, the Turkish role in this region has altered or transformed after the Arab spring. Its stance regarding the Syrian crisis specifically has mutated throughout three main stages, first as an ally of the regime, then mediator and last of all in disapproval with Bashar al- Assad regime to the extent of supporting the opposition factions.

Finally, Israel remains the most important source of geostrategic threat to Arab region security. Tel-Aviv is the near neighbor who possesses nuclear weapons, thus creating serious military imbalance with the Arab countries. The lack of the real will to resolve the Palestinian issue from the part of Israel creates a state of instability in the region. the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is relatively suffering the loss of some prominence in the geopolitics of the region confronted by all the other disputes and concerns arising from the Arab Spring, which create greater apprehensions among the Arab countries who became more concentrated on the domestic and national policies rather than on this conflict.

To conclude, the Middle East before the Arab uprisings seemed like a dissimilar security system, and these features or criteria were inherited from the epochs of colonialism and Cold War. However, the Arab uprisings came to bring together and unify the internal dynamics of protest and the political transformation in most of the countries of the region, a matter that impinged on the political order in the Middle East.

²⁶¹ DAVUTOĞLU, A., "Turkey's zero-problems foreign policy." Washington, D.C Foreign Policy, 2010.

²⁶² BALOGH, I., "The Middle Eastern Balance of Power in 2012 And Its Implications for the Future" en ONDREJCSÁK, R., et al. Panorama of Global Security Environment. Bratislava. CENAA, 2012.)

In this regard, it is worth mentioning that there are two basic geostrategic consequences and repercussions, which would contribute to the re-shaping the future of the balance of power in the Middle East region. initially, the emergence of people as the key catalyst for those states' internal dynamics. The popular revolts in the Arab world were a result of the combination of economic, political and social deficits in some countries. Whereas there are similar circumstances in quite a lot of Arab countries, the responses of the regimes were dissimilar, thus creating different models of conflict.

Consequently, the outcomes of the protests fluctuated from one state to another, thus countries as Egypt and Tunisia have undergone smooth democratic transition from the bottom up. While in other cases, as in Morocco, Jordan and the Gulf Cooperation Council, gradual reforms were initiated from the top down. However, the worst scenario was crackdown of the government against the protesters or even a disintegration of the state in the form of civil war as in the case of Libya and Syria.

The second outcome would be represented in the augmentation and escalation of geopolitical disputes crystallized in underlying conflicts. Accordingly, their connotations will have great impact on the relations and power structure in the Middle East. In this regard, it is vital to be acquainted with the rivalry and the power struggle among Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey, which will shape the region in the coming years.

The main features of this competition, is the misuse of sectarianism to achieve geopolitical objectives, by both Saudi Arabia and Iran, which may trigger a regional recoil effect. Moreover, the resilient rifts within the Sunni world, arising specifically between Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

As for the Turkish power, this nation who has always been regarded as a model of political and economic success by many countries

in the Middle East. Yet, this victory did not really manage to create the aspired "neo-Ottoman order" in the region. Quite the reverse, Ankara has lost some of its soft power after the Arab spring owing to its political and diplomatic stances regarding certain issues.

Concerning Iran, it possibly has reached the limits of an expanding influence, and its ability to contribute constructively to the security of the region could be easily restrained. The Iranian nuclear program has added relevance to the consecutive regimes, a matter that raised concerns among its Arab neighbors in the Gulf. Yet, the Arab Spring has indirectly led to the waning of Tehran's role in the region because of its part in the Syrian civil war.

The old geopolitical epicenters of the region, Egypt, Syria and Iraq are experiencing complicated transitions, for instance, Cairo is passing through very difficult economic and political circumstances, while Damascus is suffering from an extended civil war, in addition to Baghdad who is experiencing ethnic and sectarian division since the fall of Saddam regime. This has encouraged the conservative monarchies of the Gulf, led by Saudi Arabia and Qatar to attempt to fill the geopolitical vacuum in the Arab and Middle East region.

As a final point, on a systemic level, the Arab awakening has managed to create a new socio-political and economic reality in the region, transforming the balance of power, not because some states have become stronger, but rather because other states have become weaker and more fragile.

The 2011 Revolution: Roots and Consequences:

The January 25th, 2011 was not just a revolution to overthrow the existing autocratic regime that ruled Egypt for 30 years, but to change the whole political structure that governed the country for several decades. In this context, the grounds of this revolution could be attributed to many

factors, the most important among them would be the structural ones, and on top of it the total stagnation of political life in the country. From his part the famous Egyptian writer Mohamed Hassanein Heikal described the political scene in Egypt during 30 years of Mubarak's rule in one of his articles as "a process of erosion for all the land valid for cultivation"⁽²⁶³⁾.

It is argued that this wearing away strategy pursued by Mubarak regime was not a new one but it was only a continuation of the strategies that have been followed by the two former regimes of Nasser and Sadat but with different tactics and tools. Thus, he tried to create or to build a fake democracy through permitting a limited margin for his opponents to express their criticisms for the regime up to a certain extent that wouldn't affect its stability. Consequently, this breathing space succeeded to guarantee survival of Mubarak's regime for a longer time on top of power in Egypt.

For instance, some opposition and independent newspapers and TV talk shows were allowed to criticize the president and the government and highlight some issues as, the governmental corruption and bureaucracy, inheriting the presidency to Gamal Mubarak the younger son of Mubarak. thus, in the upcoming part the direct internal causes of the January, 2011 revolution will be discussed in details:

Inheritance of power:

The preparation of Gamal Mubarak to be his father's successor as the next president of Egypt became increasingly evident at around the year 2000⁽²⁶⁴⁾. With neither a vice-president, nor heir noticeable in the scene, Mubarak's younger son Gamal started off enjoying substantial attention in Egyptian state-run media⁽²⁶⁵⁾.

²⁶³ Shorouk newspaper, political history of Moussa and AlBaradei, March 24, 2011.

²⁶⁴ Aziz, Muhammad Abdul and Hussein, Youssef (2002) "The President, the Son, and the Military: Succession in Egypt" Arab Studies Journal 9/10: pp. 73–88),

²⁶⁵ Brownlee, Jason (2008) "The Heir Apparency of Gamal Mubarak" Arab Studies Journal pp. 36–56.

In February 2000 he was appointed to the General Secretariat of the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP). Bashar al-Assad's rise to power in Syria in June 2000 just hours after Hafez al-Assad's death, inspired an intense debate in the Egyptian press in relation to the predictions for a similar scenario to take place in Cairo⁽²⁶⁶⁾. Both President Mubarak and his son refuted the probability of any inheritance of power in Egypt, and this claim was made in 2006, when Gamal Mubarak affirmed time after time that he had no aspiration to come next to his father. He confirmed that he would rather preserve his title in the then-ruling NDP as deputy secretary general, a position he held, along with heading the party's policy committee the most important organ of the NDP⁽²⁶⁷⁾.)

In 2004, several political groups of the left and the right, declared their sharp opposition to the inheritance of power and they called for political change and a fair, multi-candidate election. In addition, Mubarak in 2005 sent off for some constitutional amendments to open the door for a multi-candidate presidential elections before September 2005 by asking the parliament to revise Article 76 of the Egyptian constitution. This change in the constitution was perceived by analysts and senior judicial figures as a maneuver to allow the president's son to inherit the power in Egypt. By these amendments Gamal Mubarak would be one of the candidates in a presidential elections and would be supported by the ruling party and the government-controlled media. Thus, the inheritance of presidency would be undertaken through a democratic process. However all above mentioned remain as opinions and assumptions made by political activists and analysts.

Moreover, and to continue the scenery, Mubarak's regime permitted some small opposition parties that neither had history, ideology nor real presence among the people in the street that was called the "cartoonic parties", as well as, other political forces to participate in the political life in Egypt. In this manner, Mubarak seceded to create a

²⁶⁶ Sobelman, Daniel (2001) "Gamal Mubarak, President of Egypt?" Middle East Quarterly 8 (2): pp. 31–40

²⁶⁷ <http://www.middle-east-online.com/english/egypt/?id=16096>

political scene characterized by a fake or nominal multi-plurality. Nevertheless, in reality the politics in Egypt was run according to what we can call an implicit agreement between the regime and these parties and powers as long as they will not cross their red line.

Furthermore, the Mubarak regime allowed the banned group of the Muslim brotherhood since 1954 to take part in the public life. For instance, they were permitted to participate in workers' unions and syndicate elections during mid and late 1990's until their success to participate in the parliamentary elections in 2005 in which the Muslim brotherhood members took part as independent candidates.

This strategy has been so beneficial for Mubarak regime in many ways for three decades, as it added some kind of legitimacy for this system, which helped him to appear as a democratic country in front of the world. Hence, this legitimacy helped this regime to promote itself for the western powers as the one and only valid choice or option to rule the country to prevent or limit the penetrating power of the Islamists or what was known as the "Muslim brotherhood scarecrow".

The socio-economic factors:

Also, the harsh economic situation in Egypt has immensely contributed in speeding up the way towards the revolution, as this economy faced big structural problems. Those glitches spread vastly during the first decade of this century, despite the positive steps taken by the government to adjust the economic situation. For instance, Mubarak's government tried to improve the investment environment and to enhance the information technology services for businessmen⁽²⁶⁸⁾., as well as expanding more infrastructure projects⁽²⁶⁹⁾.. However, the major dilemma remained was the failure of the government to convert or transform its

²⁶⁸ Ministry of investment, Egypt investment monitor 2009, June 2009

²⁶⁹ world economic forum, the global competitiveness report 2008-2009) (Norman Loayza and Rei Odawara, infrastructure and economic growth , the world bank group, policy research working paper 5177)

minor achievements into real and concrete results that could be reflected on the daily living of the Egyptians.

In this context, Many economic and development experts assumed that the main reason behind the failure of the economic policies of the Egyptian government since the beginning of the nineties of the last century was its inability to implement real broad development in the country which goes further than the indicators of macro economy to include comprehensive humanitarian development⁽²⁷⁰⁾. These failures were demonstrated by ranking Egypt as country 101 out of 169 country in the human development report issued by united nations development program UNDP in 2010⁽²⁷¹⁾ and the 14th country among the 22 Arab states⁽²⁷²⁾.

Likewise the European revolutions that took place during the 19th century to remove the traditional European monarchies and the East European countries revolutions that burst in 1989, as a direct result of depression and suffering of the peoples in those countries under the corrupt political regimes. The Arab spring that flared in many countries namely Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, and Yemen in 2011, also aimed at the ousting of regimes that ruled them through many decades.

Accordingly, the success of the revolution in countries like Egypt and Tunisia goes back to many reasons, on top of them, the presence of unfair longstanding regimes, a matter that facilitated the mobilization of people against them. Also, the presence of elite political classes which were not ready to defend or even support the system, a matter which led to the loss of the support and source of power for the existing regimes, as well as the gathering of huge numbers of demonstrators from all the sectors of the society in the streets and squares.

²⁷⁰ Heba Saleh, Egypt: you can't feed the people economic indicators, financial times, 12 October 2010.

²⁷¹ <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/EGY.html>

²⁷² United Nations Development Program, Arab Human Development Report 2009 , United Nations 2009.

In addition to this, the presence of the international organizations has been considered as a main contributor to the success of the revolution as they could represent an obstacle nowadays in the face of any regime to use force against its people and might put pressure on those regimes to step down and rotate power peacefully⁽²⁷³⁾. As for the Egyptian revolution, it succeeded to prove that despite the violence of the security forces during the first days of the marches. Yet, they failed to face the unprecedented masses that grouped in the streets, in other words, “the power of people” succeeded to defeat the “people in power”⁽²⁷⁴⁾

The 25th of January revolution in Egypt was not a revolution to overthrow the Egyptian president Mubarak or his autocratic regime but it was mainly a revolution against ideas, principals, and philosophy of governance that has been adopted by the consecutive regimes. In conclusion, it was an uprising in the face of the notion of the powerful centralized state, which dominated the lives of the Egyptians in all ways for decades.

The development of Social and political movements in Egypt since 1952:

Between 1952 and 2011, Egypt was ruled by three presidents Nasser, Sadat, and Mubarak. From his part, Nasser pacified labour unrest and introduced many social programs that did well to the population. subsequently Sadat started to turn the spotlight on the 'social contract' with Egyptian society, and when Mubarak came to power in 1981, the following three decades especially the last ten years of his rule witnessed the imposition of a neoliberal order, complete with crony-capitalists, as well as relatively corrupted bureaucracies and suppressive police apparatus. Thirty years of greater than before poverty, polarized wealth and power, and labor instability become more intense, all these features or factors laid the groundwork for the 2011 popular uprising.

²⁷³ Goldstone: “understanding the revolutions of 2011: weakness and resilience in the Middle East autocracies”. Foreign affairs, vol. 90, No.3 (may/June 2011), pp.8-16

²⁷⁴ Wael Ghoneim, Elthawra Elmasryia 2.0 in Arabic, the Egyptian revolution 2.0, shorouk press 2012)

As Nasser came to power in Egypt in 1952 he was engaged in a power struggle for a short-lived period, before assuming whole command in 1954, at that point the independent political organizations were banned and he marshaled a populist-corporatist pact between labour and the state, in which the state controls the bulk of the economic, political, and social domains. This approach left only insignificant and minor space for society to develop itself and for the interest groups to float up, compete, and act independently and unconventionally⁽²⁷⁵⁾. Labour groups were put in order into a restricted number of singular, compulsory, non-competitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories. Moreover, in the year 1957, the Egyptian government founded the General Federation of Egyptian Trade Unions (GFETU), dominating nearly all the labour unions under the government's authority or command, with the exclusion of the radical leaders and at the same time drafting in the moderates. Since this stage, these trade unions have served as an arm rest or support of the state rather than as representatives of workers. Hence, labour activism and actions fundamentally receded throughout the 1950s and 60s.

Regardless of the repression of these independent political organizations, communists and militant labour groups, Nasser became incredibly popular either domestically or regionally across the Arab world. Additionally, he established a single state party and an enormous security apparatus. However, his deeds in relation to the Arab nationalism and Arab socialism, which were considered as the "twin pillars of his revolution" hunted for the freeing of Egypt, as well as, the Arab world from imperialism, and to embark on a social revolution internally as a part of the informal social contract. Accordingly, The Egyptian people agreed to take restrictions or limitations on their political freedom in return for the promise of higher living standards and a stronger nation⁽²⁷⁶⁾. A huge

²⁷⁵ Rabab El-Mahdi, "Labour protests in Egypt: causes and meanings," *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 38, No. 129, September 2011), page 390.

²⁷⁶ Scott Hibbard and Azza Salama Layton, "The origins and future of Egypt's revolt," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* (Vol. 12, No. 3, October 2010), pages 198-199.

network of social services was launched, which offered education, healthcare, and employment, as well as subsidized food and transportation. These social programs helped to create a modern middle class in Egypt. The commitment and adherence of this middle class to Nasser's regime was secured by the government guaranteeing state employment to all university graduates⁽²⁷⁷⁾.

Also, large amounts of money were spent on the development and modernization of the country's military, which was perceived as its protector from the external enemies and threats⁽²⁷⁸⁾. In addition, Nasser implemented major agricultural reforms, from the period between 1952 and 1961, he managed to reallocate about one seventh of the Egyptian cultivable land from large landowners, passed on to the landless and near landless peasants. This led to an improvement of rural incomes and agricultural production, as well as the undermining of the influence of the large landowning class of Egyptians⁽²⁷⁹⁾.

By the conquer of Egypt in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, and its suffering from a mortifying defeat, which was followed by Nasser's death in 1970, a matter which led to the emergence of a new president Anwar Sadat, who was also emerging from the military, who ruled the country from 1970 until 1981. Taking on a policy of "de-nasserisation," Sadat wanted to undo many of Nasser's policies, to earn the friendship and acceptance of the West. Amongst these policies were to return the sequestered land to the significant landowners within Egypt, also he implemented an open door market oriented program called "infitah" in Arabic. This scheme assisted in the creation of suitable conditions for a real estate and credit boom, a matter which led to the transformation of the country to become increasingly dependent upon foreign financing⁽²⁸⁰⁾.

²⁷⁷ Rabab El-Mahdi, op. cit., page 390.

²⁷⁸ Scott Hibbard and Azza Salama Layton, "The origins and future of Egypt's revolt," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* (Vol. 12, No. 3, October 2010), page 199.).

²⁷⁹ Ray Bush, "Coalitions for Dispossession and Networks of Resistance? Land, Politics and Agrarian Reform in Egypt," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (Vol. 38, No. 3, December 2011), page 395.

²⁸⁰ Ray Bush, "Coalitions for Dispossession and Networks of Resistance? Land, Politics and Agrarian Reform in Egypt," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (Vol. 38, No. 3, December 2011), page 395.)

The "opening" or *infitah* offered an alternate vision of economic progress and development to that of Arab socialism; launching a process of liberalization and an influx of Western investments, to assimilate Egypt into the Western capitalist system. Also, Sadat's policies managed to gradually eliminate Nasser's social plans and the relinquishment of his anti-imperialism. Hence, Egypt hastily became more trade dependent, having to import basic foods, and foreign financing was restricted to non-productive sectors of the economy.

Moreover, the country increasingly exported its labour to the oil rich Gulf States, which facilitated the trim down of the problems of unemployment domestically, a matter which mounted the country's dependence upon transfers from its foreign labour sending their earnings back home. For instance, in the year 1974, labour transmittals, oil exports, tourism, and foreign aid as well as the Suez Canal revenues accounted for nearly a third of Egypt's foreign income, a number that blew up to 75% in 1980. On the other hand, a different and new money-making elite developed with widespread ties to the state, despite the fact that economic unfairness and inequity between the rich and the rest of society speeded up⁽²⁸¹⁾. However, such policies witnessed adequate resistance, in the form of strikes and "popular unrest" that took place all through the mid-1970s, beside a major transport worker strike in 1976 and huge food riots in 1977, stemming from academics, state bureaucrats and workers. From his part, Sadat reacted to the labour unrest and staple protests by sending in the military to overwhelm the demonstrations. Also, head ministered the formation of a link between the landowning class and the business class as well as the conservative religious elite, to the extent that he even sought to build ties with the Muslim Brotherhood. Furthermore, Sadat restructured the connections with the United States, and even established an alliance and peace treaty with Israel, negotiated by the Carter administration in Washington as the 1979 Camp David Peace Accords. This step which

²⁸¹ Scott Hibbard and Azza Salama Layton, "The origins and future of Egypt's revolt," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* (Vol. 12, No. 3, October 2010), page 200.

negatively affected the president's popular support, until he was ultimately assassinated by an Islamist group in 1981⁽²⁸²⁾.

In 1981, Hosni Mubarak took control of Egypt, as well emerging from within the military, he embarked on deepening the economic reforms initiated by his predecessor Sadat. During Mubarak's era, the military and economic elites became much more closely amalgamated, and with the imposition of the "Emergency Law" in the wake of Sadat's shooting. Mubarak wielded more strict power, with the suspension of the constitution and adding more restrictions on civil liberties. Moreover, a new parallel legal system was formed, relying upon military courts, to be used for the trial of terrorists⁽²⁸³⁾.

During the 1980s and 1990s Mubarak masterminded a massively long-drawn-out entrenchment of neoliberal economic and social reforms in Egypt. Additionally, he pursued a fierce battle against the extremist Islamists, who were attaining political gains within sectors of the society by exploiting the poverty and popular anger towards the government, brought on as a result of the economic reforms⁽²⁸⁴⁾. Likewise, Mubarak started to execute further reforms to the agricultural sector along the neoliberal lines during the 1980s. In this framework, he began implementing agriculture sector liberalization policies in 1986, in cooperation with the USAID and the World Bank. Washington underscored the importance of market-oriented improvements and fostered export-led growth, as USAID invested nearly \$1.26 billion on the agricultural reforms. These modifications and transformations continued over the 1990s, and resulted in widespread dispossession of small farmers and a further alliance between economic and military-political elites⁽²⁸⁵⁾.

²⁸² Scott Hibbard and Azza Salama Layton, "The origins and future of Egypt's revolt," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* (Vol. 12, No. 3, October 2010), page 200-201)

²⁸³ Scott Hibbard and Azza Salama Layton, "The origins and future of Egypt's revolt," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* (Vol. 12, No. 3, October 2010), page 201-202)

²⁸⁴ Scott Hibbard and Azza Salama Layton, "The origins and future of Egypt's revolt," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* (Vol. 12, No. 3, October 2010), page 202-203)

²⁸⁵ Ray Bush, "Coalitions for Dispossession and Networks of Resistance? Land, Politics and Agrarian Reform in Egypt," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (Vol. 38, No. 3, December 2011 p:396-397

The major neoliberal reforms in Egypt under Mubarak reached the utmost with the signing of an Economic Restructuring and Adjustment Program with the IMF in the year 1991, which called for the liberalization of trade and prices, privatization, and labour 'flexibility, as well as the removal of several social safety net measures⁽²⁸⁶⁾. The new economic elite that surfaced in Egypt as a consequence of the IMF's programs of the 1990's were intimately knotted to the ruling party, the National Democratic Party (NDP), and Mubarak's son, Gamal, who headed the party's policies committee⁽²⁸⁷⁾. Prominent businessmen became more influential in policy-making circles, as well the number of businessmen who were elected to Egypt's parliament multiplied from 8 in 1995 to 150 by 2005. Moreover, the Public spending on social services was noticeably cutback, and the state-owned industries were privatized and employees were discharged⁽²⁸⁸⁾

The labour protests in the 1990s was as twice as the ones that took place during the 1980s. With the 1991 IMF program, Cairo was ingrained in a neoliberal order, which would accelerate over the next two decades. Fifteen years after the IMF program's beginning - by the year 2006 - Egyptian workers had been subjected to constant sufferings and difficulties a matter that increased their resistance to these hardships⁽²⁸⁹⁾.

The privatization program led to the unprecedented manipulation of the Egyptian economy into the hands of relatively few economic elites. Out of 314 state-run companies, 209 were went public by 2005, resulting in a substantial transposition of the public sector workers. The number of workers working for the public sector companies was cut in half between the years 1994 and 2001. The IMF paid tribute to the privatization

²⁸⁶ Angela Joya, "The Egyptian revolution: crisis of neoliberalism and the potential for democratic politics," *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 38, No. 129, September 2011), page 370

²⁸⁷ Dunne, Michele (January 2006). "Evaluating Egyptian Reform". *Carnegie Papers: Middle East Series* (66).

²⁸⁸ Scott Hibbard and Azza Salama Layton, "The origins and future of Egypt's revolt," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* (Vol. 12, No. 3, October 2010), page 202.

²⁸⁹ Rabab El-Mahdi, "Labour protests in Egypt: causes and meanings," *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 38, No. 129, September 2011), page 395

program of 2006 for having outshined prospects. Thus, wealth and power were clustered in the hands the country's elite, and a few large multinationals controlled the main areas of the economy⁽²⁹⁰⁾.

More neoliberal restructurings and modifications were further implemented under Ahmed Nazif the Egyptian Prime Minister during the period from 2005 till 2011, as he thought that the businessmen should take a more direct role in managing the state. In that sense, six ministers were appointed to run the ministries of trade and industry, housing, transportation, health, and agriculture as well as social welfare. Taxes were curtailed for corporations and businesses, Corruption and the ill use of public funds were extensively spreading as the privatization programs according to some opinions effectively subsidized the private sector at the expense of the nation as a whole²⁹¹.

The prices of food, and fuel as well as transportation soared. Thus, in 2006, Egypt witnessed a new wave of labour unrest as a result of the accumulation of such factors²⁹². Independent and self-regulating forms of worker organization re-emerged and in 2006 alone, there were about 220 major strikes, involving tens of thousands of workers in the largest strike wave that Egypt had witnessed in decades²⁹³

In 2006, a three-day strike of workers at a weaving and spinning factory in Delta city of El-Mahalla was considered as a turning point in the history of the Egyptian workers' movement, demonstrating a full work-stoppage and longer duration in comparison to the previous strike actions²⁹⁴.

²⁹⁰ Henry Veltmeyer, "Unrest and Change: Dispatches from the Frontline of a Class War in Egypt," *Globalizations* (Vol. 8, No. 5, October 2011), page 612.)

²⁹¹ Angela Joya, "The Egyptian revolution: crisis of neoliberalism and the potential for democratic politics," *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 38, No. 129, September 2011), page 370-371)

²⁹² Rabab El-Mahdi, "Labour protests in Egypt: causes and meanings," *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 38, No. 129, September 2011), page 395).

²⁹³ Henry Veltmeyer, "Unrest and Change: Dispatches from the Frontline of a Class War in Egypt," *Globalizations* (Vol. 8, No. 5, October 2011), page 612)

²⁹⁴ Rabab El-Mahdi, "Labour protests in Egypt: causes and meanings," *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 38, No. 129, September 2011), page 397-399

The abovementioned strike was the largest and most politically significant industrial strike since in 1947, involving approximately 24,000 workers with over 10,000 of them occupying the factory for three uninterrupted days, yet on the fourth day of the strike the Egyptian government granted a concession by offering a 45-day bonus. This step facilitated the start out another wave of worker protests and strikes across the country over the next years.

In this context, it is worth to be mentioned that between 2006 and 2009, an estimated 1.7 million workers participated in protest actions, including private and public industrial workers, postal workers, and educational administrators, workers in transportation along with the tax collection, as well as healthcare workers. The last few years before the January revolution witnessed labour unrest that has been denoted as "the largest social movement in over half a century" that took place within Egypt²⁹⁵.

Then again, between the years 2006 and 2008, Egypt recorded annual growth rates of 7% -while much of the world was experiencing negative growth. Nevertheless, between 2008 and 2009, poverty in the country grown from 20% to 23.4%, while around 40% of Egyptians lived on less than \$2 per day, and youth made up about 90% of the unemployed. Accordingly, while the neoliberal reforms of the previous three decades generated high growth rates, but they also led to the worsening of the living standards for the mainstream of the population and the amplified the concentration of wealth in the hands of a the minority²⁹⁶. Between the years 1998 and 2010, there were around 2 to 4 million workers who took part in between 3,400 and 4,000 strikes and other labour actions²⁹⁷. There

²⁹⁵ Rabab El-Mahdi, "Labour protests in Egypt: causes and meanings," *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 38, No. 129, September 2011), page 387-388

²⁹⁶ Henry Veltmeyer, "Unrest and Change: Dispatches from the Frontline of a Class War in Egypt," *Globalizations* (Vol. 8, No. 5, October 2011), page 611).

²⁹⁷ (Joel Beinin, "Egyptian Workers and January 25th: A Social Movement in Historical Context," *Social Research* (Vol. 79, No. 2, Summer 2012), page 326.)

were 266 strikes and labour actions in 2006, 614 in 2007, and they reached roughly 1,900 in 2009²⁹⁸

As the industrial actions rocketed, the calls for higher wages and more democratic union representation developed into demands for the end of the Mubarak regime and the neoliberal reign of Prime Minister Nazif. The protestors explained that they were challenging the Mubarak regime and they are not ruled by the World Bank. The protestors carried signs calling for the toppling of the government and they wanted a change in the structure and hierarchy of the union system in the country. They added that the way unions in Egypt are organized is completely wrong, to look like the workers' representatives have been elected, when really they were chosen by the government²⁹⁹.

The second Palestinian Intifada which is known as "Al-Aqsa" in the year 2000, helped in the initiation of new social movements in Egypt. Thus, in 2002 a conference was held in Cairo in an attempt to organize the different social groups around two key common stances, namely anti-neoliberalism and anti-war. this led in the year 2004 to the formation of the "Enough" in Arabic "Kefaya" and the Egyptian Movement for Change, who played a major role in the instigation of the January 25th revolution in 2011³⁰⁰.

All these factors were supported by a notable demographic change within the country, where by 2011, around 52% of Egypt's population was of youth under the age of 25, and it was this group which disproportionately lacked employment, with approximately 95% of post-secondary educated youth being unemployed or working in fields unrelated to their education with very low salaries. Hence, it was this

²⁹⁸ Ibrahim Awad, "Breaking Out of Authoritarianism: 18 Months of Political Transition in Egypt," *Constellations* (Vol. 20, No. 2, 2013), page 278.

²⁹⁹ Joel Beinin, "Egyptian Workers and January 25th: A Social Movement in Historical Context," *Social Research* (Vol. 79, No. 2, Summer 2012), page 331

³⁰⁰ Angela Joya, "The Egyptian revolution: crisis of neoliberalism and the potential for democratic politics," *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 38, No. 129, September 2011), page 368-369

youth sector which became increasingly mobilized around the non-ideological movements such as, "Kefaya", arranging a series of anti-Mubarak protests in the years 2004 and 2005, pressing for democracy and accountability. The younger members of this group afterwards established the April 6 Movement, which is an organization that emerged to support the 2008 strike of the textile workers in El-Mahalla city³⁰¹.

A number of other social groups and protests organizations appeared since the year 2004 onwards, among them, Students for Change, University Professors for Change, Youth for Change, Workers for Change and Artists for Change, as well as the People's Campaign for Change. In the year 2005, as Kefaya well thought-out a massive anti-Mubarak demonstration, a group of Egyptian intellectuals was formed as the "National Assembly for Democratic Transition". Lawyers, journalists and other professions progressively took part in protests³⁰².

Moreover, The Internet-based social media platforms, namely, Facebook and Twitter rapidly became very popular among young Egyptians. For instance, approximately one in nine people throughout the country have Internet access, and 9% of those who have access used Facebook, making it the most visited website in the country, following Google and Yahoo. The Facebook page for the April 6 movement was reported in 2009 as the page witnessing the most dynamic debates among the youth in Egypt, whom most of them had never been involved with politics before joining the group. The Facebook page granted a spot for these young Egyptians to gather virtually and communicate freely about their concerns³⁰³.

In 2010, the labour turmoil persisted all over the country, as the demonstrators realized that the Mubarak regime represents the marriage

³⁰¹ Scott Hibbard and Azza Salama Layton, "The origins and future of Egypt's revolt," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* (Vol. 12, No. 3, October 2010), pages 206-207.

³⁰² Angela Joya, "The Egyptian revolution: crisis of neoliberalism and the potential for democratic politics," *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 38, No. 129, September 2011), page 369).

³⁰³ Samantha M. Shapiro, "Revolution, Facebook-Style," *The New York Times*, 22 January 2009:<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/25/magazine/25bloggers-t.html?pagewanted=1&r=1>

between authority and money, thus this knot needs to be broken up, calling in the same time for the resignation of Ahmad Nazif's government, as it operates only for businessmen and ignores social justice³⁰⁴.

Egypt was obviously on the verge of an uprising, all that was required was a 'spark' - which came in the form of the Tunisian uprising in December of 2010 and January of 2011. With the overthrow of the Tunisian president Ben Ali, Egyptians were motivated to mobilize in opposition to Mubarak³⁰⁵.

The Foreign policy dimension in the January 25th revolution:

Despite that the revolution, as mentioned before, erupted because of domestic social and economic demands, it carried on latent implications for foreign policy. The intense anti-Mubarak protests frequently featured slogans and catchphrases that sarcastically demanded Mubarak for example to strive for refuge in Israel³⁰⁶. This immense popular rage reflects the strong belief among the marchers that the regime did not serve national interests of his country but rather those of Tel –Aviv and Washington. Afterwards the fall down of Mubarak regime, several opposition groups started on fierce marches outside the embassies of the United States and Israel in Cairo³⁰⁷.

The Egyptians wanted a further assertive foreign policy that would comprise the defense of Palestinians people rights³⁰⁸. as well as, the Egyptian expatriates working in the Gulf states. That is why; heavy

³⁰⁴ Joel Beinin, "Egyptian Workers and January 25th: A Social Movement in Historical Context," Social Research (Vol. 79, No. 2, Summer 2012), page 339.

³⁰⁵ Egypt Under Empire, Part 3: From Nasser to Mubarak, Andrew gavin marshall, the Hampton institute, july, 24th, 2013

³⁰⁶ Alhayat, 'Slogans of the Egyptian Revolution,' September 26, 2014: <http://alhayat.com/Articles/4769345/> in Arabic shearat al thawra al masrya besarath wa khafiyah.

³⁰⁷ Egyptians attack Israel embassy, ambassador evacuated,' Reuters, September 10, 2011;) '(The storming of Cairo's Israeli embassy: an eyewitness account,' Ahramonline, September 10 2011: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/1/20856/Egypt/The-storming-of-Cairos-Israeli-embassy-an-eyewitne.aspx>.

³⁰⁸ Khaled Elgindy, Heba Saleh "Egypt, Israel, Palestine," The Cairo Review of Global Affairs, American University in Cairo: <http://www.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/CairoReview/Pages/articleDetails.aspx?aid=221#>),

demonstrations also took place at the embassy of the Saudi Arabia in Cairo, on the background of the detention of an Egyptian lawyer in Riyadh airport for the possession of banned pills⁽³⁰⁹⁾.

These marches demanded the his release and all the Egyptian detainees in the Saudi prisons, a matter which led to the closure of the Saudi embassy in Cairo³¹⁰

On their side, both Riyadh and Tel-Aviv endeavored during the January revolution to rally international backing for the former president Mubarak. For the one and only time, Israel permitted Egyptian battalions to be deployed in the demilitarized Sinai³¹¹. Whereas, the late Saudi King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz al-Saud condemned Egyptian demonstrations as the work of “infiltrators” out to destabilize Egypt³¹². The latter was worried that the removal of Mubarak from power would encourage other Arab countries to arise against their ruling regimes. Thus, by supporting Mubarak, Riyadh wanted to maintain its friendly alliance with both Cairo and Washington to restrain and curb the rising Iranian influence in the region.

From its part, the United States called for an “orderly transition” under the supervision of General Omar Soliman, Mubarak’s longtime intelligence chief (whom Mubarak appointed as vice president during the uprising) and Field Marshal Mohammad Hussein Tantawi the minister of defense at that time³¹³.

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³¹⁰ ‘Saudi Arabia closes Cairo embassy,’ Financial Times, April 29, 2012).

³¹¹ Israel allows Egypt troops in Sinai for first time since 1979 peace treaty,” Haaretz, January 31, 2011: <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/israel-allows-egypt-troops-in-sinaifor-first-time-since-1979-peace-treaty-1.340405>

³¹² Caryle Murphy. February 14, 2011, ‘Fall of Mubarak deprives Saudi Arabia of closest local ally,’ The National: <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/fall-of-mubarak-deprivessaudi-arabia-of-closest-local-ally>

³¹³ Clinton Calls for ‘Orderly Transition’ in Egypt,’ New York Times, January 30, 2011: http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/31/world/middleeast/31diplo.html?_r=0

International Reactions towards the January 2011 Revolution:

As a result of these marches that erupted in Cairo the international reactions started immediately after, these positions could be described by confusion which indicates that many countries in the world needed more time to recognize the changes that took place in Egypt especially that they didn't expect these quick changes.

If we tried to analyze the American and European reactions to the Egyptian revolution, we can assure that all officials for both sides thought that the situation in Egypt would not escalate to take the same path as the situation in Tunisia. Not only this but they thought from the very beginning of the Arab spring that the Tunisian effect will not reach Egypt at all.

In that context, we can highlight the statement that had been issued by the state department that mentioned that the Tunisian snow ball will not extend to other countries in the region, these declarations came from the Washington only three days before the beginning of the Egyptian revolution. Hence, the United States had such a conservative position arguing that it was an internal Egyptian affair and this matter shouldn't be interfered in from any external part, as it only matters the army and the people.

However, the extension of the demonstrations throughout the country convinced the United States that the Mubarak regime in Egypt has come to an end, a matter that urged President Barak Obama to congratulate the Egyptians immediately after the stepping down of the Egyptian president on February 11th.

This reaction from the part of Washington comes in adverse to the usual orientation of the American foreign policy towards its traditional alliances in the region, namely, the Gulf countries that put pressure on

Obama's administration to support Mubarak and preserve his rule, as they had their own fears that Arab Spring wave might strike their regimes.

In this context, we can realize that the American administration used some statements that reflects the change in its situation on daily basis gradually. For example, on the 28th of January 2011 it expressed its wishes that the violence in Egypt will come to an end. While few days later and on the 30th Obama's administration expressed its hope to transfer the power peacefully.

On the 1st of February a strong declaration was issued urging for the transfer of power peacefully as soon as possible a matter which reflects the forsaking of Mubarak by Obama's democratic administration only within three or four days.

On the other hand and despite corrective steps that the former president Mubarak took to contain the mounting situation as the appointment of the late General Omar Soliman the head of the Egyptian intelligence service at that time as his vice president, a step which was considered as a unique step since Mubarak took over in 1981.

Besides, the formation of a new government headed by lieutenant general Ahmed Shafik, in addition to launching promises of constitutional reform. In addition to announcing that the president will not run for the next presidential elections that should have been held in September 2011, neither he nor his younger son Gamal who was appointed on 3rd of February 2000, as the General Secretariat of the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP).

Yet, all those changes didn't make real contribution to the realize any improvement of the situation on the real ground, as it didn't change the demands of the Egyptian people neither the Stance of the united states from the events in Cairo. In that sense, Washington retreated its demands for the peaceful transfer of power within a time framework.

Moreover, the secretary of state at that time Hilary Clinton supported the idea of including the Muslim brotherhood in the dialogue that was established between the government and the revolutionary forces and the opposition to overcome the crisis.

On the other hand, the European Union tried to keep a balanced situation since the beginning of the crisis. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that the EU issued a joint statement on the 3rd of February signed by United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy in which that expressed their deep concern towards the protests taking place in Egypt and the deterioration of the situation there.

Also, they condemned the violence and called for the need for a quick and organized transfer of power to a government that represent the Egyptian people with all its broad spectrum, a government that would be able to help the country to face its challenges. This statement has been considered as a confession that the changes taking place in Egypt became a reality.

As for the individual European stances, they varied between among the European countries, and some of them could be traced here. For instance, the Swedish foreign minister on the 29th of January, only three days after the eruption of the marches described them by "Tsunami of democracy". He confirmed that the sole exit for the crisis would be the implementation of the demands of the protestors, which is, achieving sustainable economic reform organizing new presidential elections.

From their part the British Prime Minister David Cameron, the German counselor Angela Merkel, and the Greek Prime Minister Georgios Andrea Papandreou expressed their concern and worries towards the events in Egypt and demanded the cessation of violence. Additionally, they called for the respect of liberties and right to demonstrate, asserting in the same time the importance of attaining democratic transition.

To conclude, the European Union tried to keep a balanced position, as the EU high representative for security and external affairs at that time Catherine Ashton put in plain words on the 22nd of February that all the EU statements about Egypt have been very clear.

The stance of the United States and the European Union, as well as, many other countries in the world has been affected by the "street authority". In other words, the will of the Egyptians to change really played the most important role in directing the attitudes of the international powers that used to support Mubarak regime to face the threat of " Radical Islam".

As for the stand of Israel, it could be realized that Tel-Aviv was one of the most concerned countries with the changes taking place in Egypt and the fall of the former president Mubarak with its consequences on the status - quo in the middle east. The Israeli government had some fears that the upcoming regime in Cairo would not commit itself to the Camp David peace agreement, as they considered Mubarak as a strategic treasure from the Israeli national security interest.

Not only, Tel- Aviv also had fears that the new changes in Cairo might affect its economic gains resulting from its relations with Egypt, namely, supplying Israel with about 40% of its needs of natural gas especially that about 50% of the Israeli production of electricity depends on this gas. Likewise, most of the Israeli factories depend on the natural gas to work a matter that might affect the future of the Israeli economy plans, as an important partner for Europe and United States.

Accordingly, after the outbreak of the events in Egypt, the Israeli government delivered a series of reactions, not necessarily in the form of statements, but also through convening a number of reunions and meetings to evaluate the situation. So, on the 28th of January the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu asked all the spokespersons and officials in

his governments not to comment on the situation in Egypt to any source of media.

Nonetheless, many of Israeli ministers ignored this stand and started to give their opinions about the Egyptian revolution even in an unofficial way. Subsequently, and on the following day the 29th of January, it was reported that the Israeli government has commenced secret talks with the United States and many European countries, expressing its concern about their reactions in relation to what was happening in Egypt and asked them to reduce their criticism to the Egyptian president Mubarak.

Moreover, on the same day Netanyahu convened a reunion with his defense minister Ehud Barak and his foreign minister Avigdor Lieberman, as well as the head of the Israeli intelligence agency (Mossad) and Israel Security Agency (Shabak) to discuss the strategic effect of the Egyptian revolution on Israel.

Also, the same day witnessed a meeting between the minister of interior and the Chief of General Staff of the Israel Defense Forces Gabi Ashkenazi at that time, as well as some high military officials during which a decision was made to the army not to comment on the development in Egypt.

Moreover, on the 30th of January the Prime Minister Netanyahu specialized the weekly reunion of his government to discuss the situation in Egypt. While, on the 2nd of February and after Mubarak's declaration that he is not going to run for the upcoming presidential elections, he warned that the turmoil and demonstrations in Egypt will lead to instability in the region for many years.

As well, on the 2nd the Israeli interior minister mentioned that Mubarak era has come to an end, and it's a reality that can't be neglected or

ignored, highlighting that this reality would have long term impacts on his country³¹⁴.

As for the reactions of the Arab countries, it could be easily traced here, as for the Saudi Arabia, it is worth underscoring that the Riyadh stand from the January 2011 perceived some turbulences and fluctuations. Accordingly, and only one day after the outbreak of the demonstrations in Egypt, the former director of the Saudi general intelligence Prince Turki Al Faisal, criticized Mubarak regime. He stressed that its future will depend on its ability to understand the real reasons behind the unprecedented scenery in the country, adding that the whole world is waiting to see how the Egyptian leaders will deal with the situation.

However, when the Saudi regime realized that Mubarak's regime was really endangered, the late Saudi king "Abdullah" declared his bias to Mubarak regime mentioning that some agents go into hiding between the demonstrators and they are being used to create a strife among the Egyptians. Moreover, and in their trials to save Mubarak regime as they feared from the transfer of the Arab spring to their monarchies.

The Saudi king elucidated to Obama's administration that his country was willing to help Egypt with financial aid to save Mubarak regime from falling as a substitute of the American aid to Cairo. Therefore, this step is considered as a reaction to the American administration's situation which started to push the former president to step down.

However, all these trails failed and when the Egyptian regime fell, the Saudi Arabia tried to deal to deal with the situation in an intelligent manner, when it welcomed the peaceful transfer of power to the

³¹⁴ the 25th of January Egyptian revolution, middle east center for strategic studies, Amman , Jordan, April 2011, various editors, thawretkhamsa we eshreinyanair al masrya, in Arabic)

SCAF and offered financial aid to the new Egyptian transitional government to face the problems of the Egyptian economy.

The Foreign Relations of Egypt during the Transitional Period after January 25th Revolution:

The Egyptian foreign policy beheld an immense commotion since the outbreak of the 25th of January revolution. This was demonstrated in the variation from the deterioration of relations during Mubarak's era, and the alliances that have been strengthened during the period of Supreme council of Armed Forces (SCAF), till the ties and partnerships that have been established with new countries during the one year Muslim brotherhood rule.

All these developments and changes drove the Egyptian leadership to revise its foreign policy orientations and relations with all the countries whether on the Arab, African or even the international level. Some opinions argue that the revolution didn't only aim at toppling Mubarak's regime, but, it also aimed at correcting its mistakes and the paths of policies that it used to take especially with the African continent.

In brief, the Egyptian revolutions aimed at restructuring the Egyptian foreign relations as well as its aspiration to achieve domestic successes that would fulfill the ambitions of the Egyptian people as improving the economic and living conditions, as well as accomplishing liberty, democracy and social equality.

In this context, it could be argued that the majority of the Egyptians started to feel just before the 25th of January 2011, especially the new generations that their country was passing through a period of stagnation and that doors are really closed in front of the youth for the

participation in the political life. Thus, the change at that moment in the Arab world not only in Egypt was a must³¹⁵.

Finally, we can say that the January 25th revolution has returned to Egypt its skipjack spirit, and it started to regain or restore Cairo's original circles of interest where it belongs. It remained to be the revolution which opened the door towards laying down the principles and foundations of a genuine democratic transition, a matter which will formulate the foreign policy to be perfectly expressive of the collective conscience of Egypt, represented by the popular will.

³¹⁵ The Egyptian foreign relations in the balance of January's revolution, successes and failures, January 2015, al badeel, in Arabic, al elakat al kharegia al masrya fi meyzanthawretyanayer, nagahatwaekhfakat).

CHAPTER 6

EGYPT UNDER THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD REGIME

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Origins of The Muslim brotherhood:

The Muslim Brotherhood group A group of modernist essence, secular means beside the Islamic appearance and banner. It is a global transnational Sunni Islamist organization which was established in Egypt by the Islamic scholar Hassan Al-Banna in march 1928, with another six workers of the Suez Canal Company, as a Pan-Islamic, political, religious, and social movement³¹⁶. Moreover, the Company assisted al- Banna to construct a mosque in Ismailia city that would attend as the Brotherhood's headquarters, the Society of Muslim Brothers.

From his part Al-Banna, he believed that contemporary Islam had mislaid its social dominance, because the majority of the Muslim community had been altered and negatively affected by Western influences. Thus, he considered that Shariaa law grounded on the both Qur'an (the holy book of the Muslims) and the Sunnah which is the verbally transmitted record of the teachings, deeds and sayings, of prophet Mohamed³¹⁷. should be applied to all components of life, including the organization of the government and the handling of day to day teething troubles³¹⁸.

Moreover, the Muslim brotherhood provide the social services for the society through the establishment of its own social institutions, such as hospitals, pharmacies, schools. In that sense The Brotherhood expanded so quickly going from 800 members in the year 1936, to reach 200,000 by the

³¹⁶ (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>).

³¹⁷ (<http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t243/e332>)

³¹⁸ Husaini, Ishak Musa (1956). The Moslem Brethren. Beirut: Khayat's College Book Cooperative. pp. 62–63

year 1938 and over 2 million by 1948. As its influence in the society both socially and politically grew, it opposed British rule in Egypt starting in 1936³¹⁹. But was banned after being accused of violent killings, including the shooting of a Egyptian Prime Minister at that time by a young Brotherhood member³²⁰.

The structure of the Muslim brotherhood itself differs totally in nature and the philosophy from any other social or educational institutions in the Islamic history, as Al-Azhar which is largest Sunni institution in the Islamic world. Therefore, the Islamic history never witnessed any organization similar to that of the Muslim brotherhood in relation to the centralization, hierarchy or even the extreme discipline of its own members to the extent of losing his own identity and independence within the identity of the whole organization.

As a result, the Muslim brotherhood as an organization was established on institutional and philosophical basis that belongs to the western modernization more than its emanation from the Islamic traditions. For that reason, the Muslim brotherhood in its final version of organization and hierarchy came more like the communist parties, not only in the latter attributes, but also in the other aspects, as the decision making process and the administrative stringency. Thus, and in such way or manner its own members that would transform those members to be more like obedient machines that cannot think or decide.

The Muslim brotherhood since its establishment in 1928 has been facing a major contradiction and challenge. as it tried, on one hand, to appear as a modernist organization, that reflects a balanced and modern image of Islam, in such a way that became much more similar to the secular western thoughts and philosophy, while on the other hand it sought to preserve and maintain its Islamic identity and values. Consequently, this

³¹⁹ Mitchell, Richard Paul, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 68–69),

³²⁰ Lia, Brynjar. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement 1928–1942*. Ithica Press, 2006. p. 53

double nature of the organization led to a state of unrest and disarray in policies, strategies and decisions of the Muslim brotherhood that was obvious during their one of rule.

In that context, their hostility and support for the west at the very same moment was so obvious and clear, they tried to use the west to strengthen their legitimacy after they took the power in Egypt, moreover, they relied on them to restore their rule back after it was lost on the 3rd of July 2013. To wrap up, there is a huge contradiction and difference between the national states and the Islamic kalifate in relation to their natures, aims and goals. in addition, after the 30th of June revolution the Muslim brotherhood will not be able to return back to its dual nature³²¹.

Provisions for Undergoing the Presidential Elections in 2012:

In the wake of the January 25, 2011 revolution, Egypt's general public opinion started to exert bigger influence and play a more important role in foreign policy making, and they sought for change. Egyptians anticipated after electing President Mohamed Morsi on June 24th, 2012, a broad break from the policies of ousted president Hosni Mubarak. However, from the early weeks of his reign, it became clear that developing "a categorically different foreign policy" was not high on the new regime's agenda.

"We can see how the dream of the Islamic Caliphate is being realized, Allah willing, by Dr. Mohamed Morsi and his brothers, his supporters, and his political party. We can see how the great dream, shared by us all - that of the United States of the Arabs"

This was the statement utilized to commence Mohamed Morsi's presidential campaign³²². The Muslim Brotherhood's intent to superintend

³²¹ Dr. Nasr Mohamed Aref, The end of the modernist Islamism of the Muslim Brotherhood, , in Arabic, nehyet al islamaweya al hadatheia llekhwan al muslimen, al siyassa al dawleyia, vol: 194, October 2013)

³²² Egyptian Cleric Safwat Hegazi Launches MB Candidate Mohamed Morsi's Campaign: Morsi Will Restore the "United States of the Arabs" with Jerusalem as Its Capital", Memri, 1 May 2012

an Islamist government was unquestionably evident from the very beginning. Though, in the next two months the former president Morsi with the efforts and help of the Muslim Brotherhood strove to run a different electoral campaign, representing himself as the only advocate of equality values and democratic principles. And finally as the surprise winner Mohamed Morsi was declared as the new Egyptian president, on the 24th of June 2012.

The Establishment of the Freedom and Justice Party:

Erstwhile to the year 2011, the Muslim Brotherhood was theoretically excluded from participating in any parliamentary elections as a political Islamist party³²³. Still, the group had been struggling to get a foothold in political arena in Egypt for eras. Underneath the regime of former President Hosni Mubarak, the Muslim Brotherhood was, mostly, allowed to take part in the political scene but devoid of any official legal status⁽³²⁴⁾.

Consequently, the group started to pitch candidates, to run as independents, since the 1984 parliamentary elections. Yet, The Muslim Brotherhood had succeeded to secure its greatest electoral triumph in the year 2005 when their candidates won 88 out of the 454 seats in the Egyptian parliamentary house, "The People's Assembly". Though, the group's 150 candidates officially competed in these elections as independents, their connection with the Muslim Brotherhood was clearly advocated³²⁵.

The Muslim Brotherhood had thought about starting on a political party in 1996⁽³²⁶⁾, and then another time in 2007³²⁷. However, no concrete

³²³ Kienie, E., "A Grand Delusion: Democracy and Economic Reform in Egypt", publisher I. B. Tauris (2001), page 57

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³²⁵ Otterman, S., "Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Parliamentary Election", Council on Foreign Relations, 1 December 2005

³²⁶ <http://egypt.electionnaire.com/parties/?id=18>

³²⁷ Michael, M., "Egypt's Brotherhood party details platform akin to that of Iran", The Boston Globe, 11 October 2007

measures were taken till June 2011 when the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) - in Arabic Al Hurreyah wa' Al Adala-was officially founded⁽³²⁸⁾.

Despite the fact that the registration of political parties with a religious identity was still restricted, yet the Muslim Brotherhood was capable of registering their party through showing it as a "civil party" . the FJP was one amongst numerous new parties which managed to flow into the political life in Egypt after the 25 January 2011 revolution³²⁹.

The Freedom and Justice party was frequently labelled as the political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood group³³⁰. Likewise, this near relationship was conceded by the Muslim Brotherhood itself, through a number of joint statements that was released on the Muslim Brotherhood's official website⁽³³¹⁾.The common submissions of both the Muslim Brotherhood and its political wing the FJP in front of the Human Rights Council on the 3rd of November 2014 disclosed that the Muslim Brotherhood established a civil political party under the name of the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) with the intention of take part in the political democratic procedures on track in the post-revolutionary Egypt⁽³³²⁾.

In spite of this definite link between the Muslim Brotherhood and FJP, the group has made many endeavors to picture the party as a separate and individualistic entity. In that sense, enormous efforts have been concentrating on keeping the FJP away from and not submissive to the Muslim Brotherhood's Guidance office. So, these measures were commenced to curtail apprehensions from both the international

³²⁸ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/24939/Elections-/Political-Parties/Freedom-and-Justice-Party.aspx>)

³²⁹ Shukrallah, Salma., and el-Abbasy, Nourhan., "January Revolution generates a new Egyptian political map", Ahram Online, 4 March 2011

³³⁰ Engaging with the Freedom and Justice Party: Protecting American National Security Interests in Post-Arab Spring Egypt", Harvard University Institute of Politics, September 2012

³³¹ <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=29837>.

³³² <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=31884>

community in relation to the ties between the Muslim Brotherhood group and the newly established political party, as well as, the Egyptian voters.

Though, on the real ground the FJP and Muslim Brotherhood did not act out as distinct entities, and, the Guidance office obviously had some sort of authority over the progress and improvement of the party. In this context, it is worth mentioning that the members of the Muslim Brotherhood were directed to cast their votes for the FJP candidates and they were also prohibited from becoming members in any other party other than freedom and justice party⁽³³³⁾.

Furthermore, those members who did not act in accordance with these instructions were dismissed from the Muslim Brotherhood. This involved young members of the group who were excluded next to the establishment of their own party under the name of the Egyptian Current Party *in Arabic Hizb al-Tayyar al-Masri*.

Additionally, The Muslim Brotherhood's Shura Council had an explicit contribution to the selection process of FJP's headship so it appointed Mohamed Morsi as FJP's president, and both Essam El-Erian as well as Saad El-Katatni, as vice-president and secretary-general respectively³³⁴. They also were members of the Muslim Brotherhood's Guidance Council, which is the group top leadership and administrative body. Principally, the main out stream and grand parameters of foreign policy continued without a change, despite appearances. Actually, the differences that really emerged were mainly in the implementation of this policy, which became less efficient as a result of dualism and confusion in decision-making. Foreign policy decisions under Morsi were made at two levels: first by state bodies, including the ministry of foreign affairs and national intelligence, and then by the Muslim Brotherhood's foreign policy

³³³ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/24939/Elections-/Political-Parties/Freedom-and-Justice-Party.aspx>).

³³⁴ El-Hennaway, N., "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood selects hawkish leaders", Egypt Independent, 30 April 2011

advisors³³⁵. The Muslim Brotherhood and its political arm—the Justice and Freedom Party—became a part of the institutions playing a role in this process. Consequently, the position of foreign policy adviser for the president became much more influential than ever. In that sense, Essam Al Hadad a prominent member of the Muslim Brotherhood, who was nominated as President Morsi’s political advisor played such a critical role in the process of foreign policy making.

Egyptian Foreign Policy under Muslim Brotherhood

Since the inception of the Morsi presidency in June 2012, the new government has not even tried to alter mostly Egypt’s foreign policy priorities. Despite its Islamist orientation, the foreign policy positions of the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), its political arm, did not differ significantly from all the former regime’s perception of Egyptian national interests. While officially independent of the Muslim Brotherhood, the party has been overwhelmingly influenced by the Brotherhood guidance office ideas and opinions, it received its advices and recommendations on both domestic and international issues. Consequently, the FJP’s foreign policy programs and positions were mostly in harmony with Brotherhood philosophy and beliefs³³⁶.

The FJP’s 2012 electoral campaign underscored Egypt’s aspiration of playing a pivotal role on many levels. It affirmed that Egypt can such be a momentous power, in its region based on its historic and cultural inheritance, referring to a Nasserist approach of foreign policy. In that sense, they tried to mingle nationalism with Islamism, the freedom and justice presented their electoral program to the Egyptian people.

³³⁵ Morsi's foreign policy failures, ahram online, Sunday 21 Jul 2013

³³⁶ A Delicate Balancing Act: Egyptian Foreign Policy After the Revolution, Joshua Haber, Helia Ighani, May 2013, The Institute for Middle East Studies, the Elliott school of international affairs, the George Washington university.

This renaissance project, or "*al-nahda*", in Arabic, concentrates on regaining Egypt's leading role in the region to secure the welfare of Egyptians on both levels domestically and externally. Additionally, ousted President Morsi during his electoral campaign asked for the support of the Egyptians, and the fruitful cooperation of both society and the country's institutions to successfully accomplish the target⁽³³⁷⁾.

The objectives set up by the so called "renaissance project", which presented the core of the electoral campaign of the Muslim Brotherhood candidate, laid down the foundation for reshaping Egypt's post-revolution foreign policy, -according to their point of view- this new foreign policy strived towards principal targets, namely, attaining independence from foreign powers, achieving a regional leadership role.

Hence, the first goal was in favor of distancing from foreign powers, but in the same time with respecting and maintaining existing accords and treaties concluded with the international community. The mutual thread underlying these elements was an endeavor to foster the economic growth and development by attracting new investments to the country in order to minimize Egypt's dependence on foreign aid.

In addition, the Morsi's electoral program sketched out a foreign policy vision that focus on fostering the Egyptian relations with five main circles, in a manner that can assist pursuing its objectives. Thus, Egypt will have to strength its ties with its neighboring countries in the region, U.S, Europe and Asia as well as the rest of the world. These circles has always been considered as the main circles of movement for the Egyptian foreign policy since the declaration of the first republic. Hence, this foreign policy vision stresses the need for improving the economic relations with other

³³⁷A Delicate Balancing Act: Egyptian Foreign Policy After The Revolution, Joshua Haber, Helia Ighani ,May 2013, The Institute For Middle East Studies, the Elliott school of international affairs, the George Washington university.

countries in the forms of strengthening trade relationships, tourism exchanges, and development projects³³⁸.

The FJP defines its second objective through the exertion of Egypt's leadership role in groups with which it already has relations. On the regional level, the FJP identifies three "affiliation circles" in which Egypt could reassert a leadership role, namely the Arab, African, and Islamic circles. This stems from a widely held belief—shared by the Muslim Brotherhood—that Mubarak largely neglected foreign policy and subordinated Egyptian interests to those of Israel and the West over the last thirty years. Contending that Mubarak maintained power through illegal means and neglected his duty to foster growth in the Arab and Islamic circles, the FJP platform asserts:

"The humiliating decline in Egypt's status and its role regionally and internationally went so far that Egypt was supplying the Zionist occupiers of Palestine and Jerusalem with gas and oil, at the cheapest below-market prices, while Egyptians were in bad need of the same. We blockaded and antagonized freedom-fighters in Palestine. We failed in managing the Southern Sudan issue and the Convention on the Nile Basin. Our national security was in danger, even in the depths of Arab and African realms".

In particular, the FJP emphasized the pivot to Africa as a complete departure from the former regime's foreign policy. The Muslim Brotherhood emphasized that Mubarak had completely neglected his continental neighbors following a 1995 assassination attempt while traveling to the Organization of African Unity summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The third objective of opposing foreign intervention and occupation is reflected in the FJP's 2012 presidential election platform of Mohamed Morsi. On the international level, the FJP proclaimed Egypt's

³³⁸ Foreign Policy in Morsi's Election Platform," *Freedom & Justice Party*

opposition to all forms of foreign meddling and the need for public consensus on all foreign policy decisions. Even before coming to power, the FJP sought to redefine the U.S.-Egyptian relationship in a “bilateral dimension.” It asserted that the United States “should not impose on Egypt any specific agenda in its foreign policy as it seeks to open up to all countries...and preserve Egypt’s right to evaluate its relationship with all parties based on Egyptian interests.” This encapsulates a sentiment that is not unique to the FJP, but is rather a common belief among the Egyptian public.

Moreover, he committed several major political missteps that led to his ouster only one year as follows:

First, the gradual prioritizing of domestic issues over foreign policy in Egypt began as early as some fifteen years ago—that is, about two-thirds through Mubarak’s three decade presidency—as his aging began to take its toll on the functioning of his foreign policy. The only exception to this demotion was issues and developments related to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Not surprisingly, even during the past three tumultuous years, it was repeatedly asserted that one of the revolution’s main objectives was to restore Egypt’s regional role. Finally, while it may well be too early to evaluate Sisi’s foreign policy, one change can already be seen: a far higher degree of congruence between Egypt’s foreign and domestic policies.² Thus, even as Sisi has given Egypt’s internal development top priority, he has been working to create a favorable external environment for this agenda by putting emphasis on maintaining Egypt’s peace with Israel and by strengthening his country’s ties with the Gulf Arab states⁽³³⁹⁾.

Mohamed Morsi was the first civilian freely elected president in Egypt’s history. Yet, he wasn’t able to seize the opportunity to use the leverage and autonomy always given to the presidency to enhance the

³³⁹ Post-Revolution Egyptian Foreign Policy Abdel Monem Said Aly, middle east brief, No 86, November 2014, crown center for middle east studies, brandies university

country's regional or international position. In other words, the major problem with the Muslim Brotherhood's rule was that it they were not able to grasp the significance of the moment in which moved from them being in opposition to being in power after eighty-five years⁽³⁴⁰⁾.

In that sense, we can trace three factors that contributed to constraining of his foreign policy which led to the limitation of Egypt's role, furthermore weakening its position in the region and in the world as a whole. The first factor was the primacy of domestic politics over foreign policy which resulted from a number of problems that has been facing the country namely, a complicated political and constitutional dilemma, a turbulent security situation, and a growing economic crisis, besides the Islamist president Morsi was at the same time facing a significant decline in domestic support. Accordingly, even with his extensive travel to many foreign capitals since he came to office, he had very limited room for playing a productive role in foreign affairs³⁴¹.

The second constraint on Morsi's foreign policy resulted from his affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood group who pressed him to deal with a wide range of Salafist organizations and jihadist groups internally. Hence, not only did he release from prison a large number of members of Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiya and al-Jihad, but also during the 2012 October War celebrations he praised the assassins of President Sadat, mainly Tarek al-Zaim and Assem Abdel Maged when he summoned them in a rally at Cairo Stadium in which they and other Salafists attacked the Shia and in which he severed diplomatic relations with Syria.

Moreover, when Ansar Beit Al-Maqdes group kidnapped Egyptian soldiers in Sinai, Morsi announced that he would work to save the lives of both the hostages and the kidnappers, and the pace of pardons increased dramatically after he took office as he released nine decrees

³⁴⁰ The end of the Muslim Brotherhood rule in Egypt, Amr Mahmoud El- Shobaki, August, 1st, 2013

³⁴¹ Post-Revolution Egyptian Foreign Policy Abdel Monem Said Aly, Middle East brief, No 86, November 2014, crown center for Middle East studies, Brandies University

with pardons starting soon after he was inaugurated, freeing nearly 2,000 people among them the brother of al-Qaida leader Ayman al-Zawahri, Mohammed³⁴², ³⁴³, ³⁴⁴, ³⁴⁵.

In conclusion he wasn't able to reconcile the pragmatism needed for the effective conduct of foreign policy with the ideology of political Islam.

From the time when the January 2011 revolution took place, the Egyptian state has faced many challenges and problems whose effects and consequences became more complicated by the ascendance of the Muslim Brotherhood and its Islamic allies to power, along with President Morsi's blind obedience to the instructions and decisions made by the Brotherhood's Guidance Bureau. Indeed, he was prioritizing the organizational interests of the Muslim Brotherhood over those of the state, the matter which sparked clashes with the state security apparatus and the state bureaucracy responsible for implementing foreign policy.

Among these challenges that faced Egypt since the January revolution, was firstly, the emergence of regional environment consisting of failed states as Since 2011, Egypt's geo-strategic environment has worsened as the country has become surrounded by some dysfunctional states, such as Libya, Sudan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, the matter that noticeably augmented Egypt's vulnerability and exposure to the massive smuggling processes of advanced weapons and arms into its territory from almost all its borders.

As for Sudan it downgraded its partnership with Egypt regarding important Nile related issues, while at the same time attempting to exploit it by demanding the reopening of the sovereignty issue over Shalatin and Halaib triangle which lies in Egypt's southeastern corner which Sudan

³⁴² Hamza Hendawi, "Egypt: Morsi's Links to Jihadists Probed," Associated Press, December 3, 2013.

³⁴³ Tom Perry, "Egypt's Mursi Frees Islamists Jailed by Mubarak," Reuters, July 31, 2012.

³⁴⁴ Doaa El-Bey, "The Reconciliation We Need?," Al-Ahram Weekly, October 11–17, 2012.

³⁴⁵ Jason Howerton, "Paying Off Political Debt," The Blaze, July 31, 2012 .

always claimed that it is part of its territories. Yet, Morsi made one of worst moves for the Egyptian foreign policy in April 2013 when, during a visit to Sudan, he crossed redline concerning the Egyptian national security and interest, when rumors spread about willingness to give up the Halaib and Shalatin to the Sudanese.

Consequently, as an immediate reaction concerning these rumors, the presidency denied in some official declarations the proposed deal between President Morsi and his Sudanese counterpart Omar Bashir that would give the Halaib and Shalateen triangle to Sudan, alongside, Presidential advisor on foreign affairs at that time EssamEl -Haddad mentioned that “The Egyptian position on Halaib and Shalateen has not changed. Moreover, The chief of staff of the Egyptian army at that time and the current minister of defense Sedki Sobhi, made a visit to Khartoum to clarify the Egyptian state situation, that was not negotiating the give up of any piece of its land, this was an incident that to the military that the Brotherhood was directly working against Egypt's national security interests⁽³⁴⁶⁾.

Concerning Libya, compensating for its own vulnerabilities, it managed to pressure Egypt to surrender Libyan political refugees and restricted the employment of Egyptian workers in Libya.

On the part of Palestine, Egypt's alliance with Hamas complicated Egypt's situation, the Brotherhood's close cooperation with them, especially on illegal smuggling tunnels into Gaza whether by smuggling weapons and arms through these tunnels or by providing direct access to a variety of terrorist groups, would have had negative long-term consequences for both Egyptian national security and relations with Israel.

³⁴⁶ Presidency denies debate on status of Halaib, Daily News Egypt, Ethar Shalaby, April 7, 2013.

Hamas Organization Relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood Regime:

Hamas Islamic resistant group as widely known and as stated in its establishment statue issued in 1988, represents a part of the international brotherhood system or organization. However, it has been present in Palestine since the Forties of the last century, when some brotherhood in Egypt went there to support the Palestinian case. And with the founding of Israel and its control over about half the area of the territories that has been allocated by the United Nations Resolution 181 (also known as the Partition Resolution) which was adopted on November 29th, 1947 to split Britain's former Palestinian mandate into Jewish and Arab states in May 1948 as the British mandate was slated to end⁽³⁴⁷⁾. Then with the occupation of the rest of the Palestinian territories in 1967, the brotherhood there started to concentrate on the importance of its indulgence in the society from the bottom aiming at building and controlling it as a priority before thinking about resisting the occupation and freeing the land.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that the literature of the Muslim brotherhood documenting this period of time suggested that it has been weak enough to resist the occupation to liberate Palestine, because of this it didn't participate with the other Palestinian resistance groups which heavily flourished at that point of time to struggle against the Israeli occupation. Even more it tried to benefit from disclaiming having any relation with these resistance groups to build and reinforce its institutions, a matter which the Israeli occupation forces used to hit the Palestinian resistance factions, namely the Palestinian liberation organization (PLO).

Moreover, Israel bolstered the hostility state from the part of the Muslim brotherhood in Palestine towards the armed Palestinian resistance factions, and described it by the "secular factions". Throughout the whole period since the establishment of Israel and the occupation west bank and

³⁴⁷ <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/creation-israel>

Gaza strip in 1967, and until the explosion of the First Palestinian Uprising (in Arabic intifada) in December 1987, not even a single member of the brotherhood in Palestine participated in any resistance activities against the Israeli occupation.

The Muslim brotherhood group in Palestine at that moment retreated that it was still very fragile and its participation in any kind of these resistance activities, would give Israel reasonable ground to get rid of the group and its projects in Palestine. As previously mentioned this situation continued until the eruption of the 1987 uprising, in which all the sects of the Palestinian society participated, yet and only at this point the group really started to face extreme internal pressures and criticisms from its youth members who claimed that the Muslim brotherhood image in Palestine was becoming very negative because of its inaction.

Consequently, the Muslim brotherhood in Palestine faced vast divisions among its members which resulted from the longing of its youth to take part in the resistance against Israel with the PLO factions. Thus, it took a decision to create an armed wing to execute some resistance operations, only two weeks after the commencement of the first intifada, and called it the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas). What is more, the newly established Hamas started to launch declarations claiming that it was the interior of the first intifada and the one who is supporting it.

At that point it was obvious that the emergence of Hamas, represented a enormous burden for the Palestinian people, as it refused to merge with the joint Palestinian leadership for the uprising, and it started to work separately without any coordination with them. The matter which led to the exhaustion of the Palestinian citizens as it called for organizing strikes in days different from those days determined by the joint leadership, not only but it demanded the Palestinians to boycott the strikes of the leadership, a matter that weakened the momentum of the resistance.

Then and there, with the developments that took place on the ground and the initiation of the peace process between the Palestinians and the Israelis by the convention of Madrid Peace Conference that was held from the 30th of October to the 1st of November 1991, and hosted by Spain with the co-sponsorship by both United States and the former Soviet Union, this conference was just a beginning that was followed by the signing of the Oslo peace agreements in September 1993, the Islamic organization Hamas refused the decided to refuse their outcomes, stressing that Palestine is a Muslim territory that can't be relinquished under any circumstances.

Furthermore, Hamas started to execute several explosions against Israel to smash up the above mentioned agreements that have been reached between the Palestinians and the Israelis and to stop their implementation. Besides, it refused to run for the parliamentary elections that was held in 1996, under the allegations that they were the outcome of the rejected Oslo agreements. Yet, Hamas movement decided to run for the next parliamentary elections that was organized in 2006, where it won with a big majority and took control over the Gaza strip and completely separated it from the west bank.

At that point, the head of the political office of the Movement announced in July 2008 the willingness of the Islamic resistance movement to accept the two states solution that it previously turned down and carried out for the sake of that many suicide bombings. The matter that led to the Israeli re-occupation to the parts of the territories that it had already withdrawn from it. When Hamas was criticized for this contradiction, it explained that it was a temporary stance related to their inability to "destroy Israel" at that point of time, adding that when the moment have possession of enough power it would certainly begin its battle and struggle against Israel.

Moreover, Hamas managed to separate Gaza strip and dealt with it as the launching point for the establishment of the wider Muslim

brotherhood project or dream to extend the group all over the world. Thus, it started setting up tunnels across the borders with Egypt to get all its basic needs of oil and food, etc. from there. Likewise, Hamas has been involved in the assassinations of many Egyptian soldiers in Sinai by its members who managed to infiltrate there via those tunnels, also there are many enormous doubts about the role that Hamas has played during the 25th of January revolution especially in relation to the breaking in of a number of prisons in Egypt to smuggle many of the Muslim brotherhood members who were imprisoned from the part of Mubarak's regime just few days before the revolution amongst them the former president Morsi.

Also, those doubts about Hamas expanded to include their role in the burning of a number of "security state department" centers throughout the country, which is the main security Egyptian institution or organ responsible for the follow up of their activities, to destroy the archives of the most important security apparatus in the country. It was also engaged in providing the Brotherhood group in Cairo with the some of its elements to support Morsi's regime after taking power in Egypt.

Hamas and the Egyptian national security:

The role of the Muslim brotherhood in the arrangement for the 25th of January 2011 revolution, some of its leaders declared through some of its leaders that they would not participate in the demonstrations against Mubarak regime. However, the role of the group was revealed later either with their participation via the armed members in the raiding of the different jails as mentioned before as well as taking part in the assassinations and killing of the protestors in a number of squares in Egypt.

Likewise, during the rule of president Morsi, Hamas movement activities in Egypt intensified immensely, for example the leaders of the movement started to meet Morsi in the presidential palace and convening reunions in the guidance bureau away from the related official institutions

and organs of the Egyptian state, as the national security council didn't play any role in the arrangement of those meetings and visits, also it didn't have any clue about the identity of the leaders and members of the movements who attended those reunions.

What is more, the security apparatuses in Egypt reported the attendance of some formerly noted Hamas leaders on their watch lists for those previously mentioned reunions, because of their dangers on the Egyptian national security, a matter which augmented the risk of the execution of more terrorist operations against Egypt. In brief, Hamas delegations came to Egypt in the middle of an extremely turbulent and nerve-wracking situation between the former president Morsi and his brotherhood group from one side, as they tried during the one year rule to control the country, a matter which was faced by vast opposition from the Egyptian society with all its sects who called for the departure of the president and the organization of early elections.

In the middle of the unstable scene in Egypt, some members of the Muslim brotherhood and their affiliates of the other political Islam groups began to threaten the Egyptians if demonstrations came out against Morsi. In this context, it is worth mentioning that the vice president of the freedom and justice party (FJP) declared that Muslim brotherhood would summon what is known by the "Egypt free army" to launch a war against the Egyptians in the case of the ouster of Morsi.

During the preparations and arrangements that was taking place at that point of time by the Egyptians especially by the youth to organize the demonstrations of the second revolution of the 30th of June, a delegation of the military wing of Hamas movement paid a visit to Cairo which the security apparatuses knew almost nothing about it. However, some opinions argued that this visit aimed at discussing the role of the movement's members in facing Morsi's opposition.

For instance, using Hamas members to confront with the Egyptians who would go out to demonstrate against Morsi to organize early presidential elections, a matter which has been underscored by some opinions as the natural extension of the role of that the movement played during the 25th of January revolution, especially in relation with the break in of the Egyptian prisons to free the Muslim brotherhood members, amongst them was the former president Morsi.

Yet, with the eruption of the 30th of June revolution some information about the preparations taken by the Hamas movement for conflicting with the protestors, a matter which led to the generation of hatred and anger feelings among the Egyptian people against not only Hamas movement but also against the people in Gaza strip and the all the Palestinians. Those adverse feelings that had aroused from the part of the Egyptian public opinion towards the Palestinians as a reaction of Hamas deeds, negatively affected the cause of Palestine.

Finally, it could be argued that the 30th of June revolution had a lot of impacts in relation to the several aspects interrelated to the Arab-Israeli conflict, these after-effects cannot be limited to the events of that took place during the 30th of June only, but it could be also linked to prior episodes namely, the 25th of January revolution on one hand, as well as, the aftermaths of the Arab spring on the other hand. Along these lines, the most important outcomes of these impacts is could be represented in the uncovering of the falsity discourse of the political Islam with all its factions³⁴⁸.

These challenges were complicated by major changes in the scenery of the rest of the Mashriq area, a matter that affected and minimized Egypt's capacity to play its significant traditional regional role. In brief, Egypt's importance in the region fall down to a level far below that in the later years of the former president Mubarak, who has been

³⁴⁸ The lost chance, Israel and hamas calucluations in the post brotherhood era, Dr. Emad Gad, in Arabic, al forsa aldeaa, hesabat israeel wa hamas fi marhlaet ma baed al ehkhwan, al siyassa al dawleyia, Vol:194, October 2013)

already criticized for the diminishment of Egypt's long –established position as a major regional power.

As for the second challenge, it would be represented in the waning of the Egypt-Gulf alliance which was formed back in the year 1973 during the Arab-Israeli war, this alliance could be considered as one of the most important pillars of Egypt's foreign policy over the past four decades, this alliance was negatively affected to reach its lowest point during Morsi's presidency. Moreover, Egypt has always been extremely important for the Gulf countries security, because of its military strength as the Egyptian army is ranked among the most powerful 20 armies in the world³⁴⁹

However, the gulf powers started to be suspicious of the Islamist regime that emerged in the country under president Morsi, on the background of Egyptian–Iranian rapprochement which naturally did corresponding harm to its relations with the Gulf countries and Arab monarchies, with the exception of Qatar.

Relations with Iran:

This warmth in relations began with an August 2012 visit by Morsi to Tehran to participate in summit of the Nonaligned Movement, in which he transferred the leadership of the 120-nation bloc to Tehran⁽³⁵⁰⁾. This was the first time for an Egyptian president to visit Iran in decades after the severing the Diplomatic ties between Iran and Egypt in 1980 after the former signed a peace treaty with Israel and gave asylum and a state funeral to Iran's exiled Shah Reza Pahlavi during the era of President Anwar Sadat after which Tehran named a street in Tehran after his assassin Khaled Islambouli, this visit was reciprocated by one for the

³⁴⁹ The world's 20 strongest militaries, business insider, Jeremy Bender, Oct. 3, 2015

³⁵⁰ <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/morsi-arrives-in-tehran-in-first-visit-by-egyptian-leader-to-iran-in-decades-1.461644>,

former Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's to Cairo in February 2013⁽³⁵¹⁾

In March 2013 one month after the Ahmadinejad's visit, the first commercial flight in three decades traveled between Cairo and Tehran, a step that backfired, as it was faced by strong criticism from the political establishment, leading to the its suspension. However, on May 31, Morsi called for the flights to be recommenced, with nearly 132 Iranian tourists arriving in Aswan as part of a bilateral tourist agreement, but this time, oppositions from the security apparatus were joined by street protests by Salafists in front of the residence of the Iranian charge d'affaires in Cairo⁽³⁵²⁾.

For instance, ties between Egypt and the United Arab Emirates suffered a major blowback highlighted by the detention of ten Egyptian Brotherhood members accused of committing terrorist activities and training local Islamists on how to overthrow Arab governments³⁵³. Moreover, the Saudi-Egyptian relationship deteriorated as well, with the Saudi ambassador being summoned more than once. Even the Jordanian king Abdallah II described former Islamist president Morsi as having "no depth" of understanding concerning the complexity of the problems in the region.

Besides, many other factors contributed to prioritizing these relations in the Egyptian foreign policy, on top of these factors is the presence more than three million Egyptian expatriates in the Gulf region, and the passage of Gulf oil through the Suez Canal and the Summed pipeline and Arab Gulf investments in Egypt. Without a doubt, this strong Gulf –Egypt relations has permitted the latter to overcome the negative and furious Arab reaction to its signing of the 1979 peace treaty with Israel, the matter which enabled Egypt and the Gulf states in a later stage

³⁵¹ Iran President Ahmadinejad begins historic Egypt visit .bbc.com/news/world-middle-east- 5 February 2013

³⁵² Egypt's Evolving Foreign Policy, Adel el Adawy, the Washington institute for near east policy, October 17, 2013

³⁵³ Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood cell detained in UAE, Reuters,Tue Jan 1, 2013)

to unite behind a single strategy for liberating Kuwait from the Iraqi invasion in 1991, through the formation of a coalition, also these strong relations has always succeeded to hold off against the hegemonic tendencies of Iran in the Gulf and beyond as well as its nuclear threat.

Ties with Syria:

the ousted President Morsi as mentioned before made one of his worst moves and greatest mistakes in his foreign policy, when he announced his the expulsion of the Syrian ambassador to Egypt and closing the embassy. Moreover, he decided to sever the diplomatic ties with Damascus and denouncing Bashar Al Assad regime³⁵⁴.

In addition, Morsi called for military intervention on behalf of the opposition³⁵⁵. Moreover, he pledged to provide financial aid and moral support to the Syrian rebels³⁵⁶.

In conclusion, the relations with the Arab countries started to deteriorate in the aftermath of the January 2011 revolution, because of fear of the Gulf regimes from the exportation of the Arab spring revolutions from both Egypt and Tunisia to them, the matter that would represent direct and immense threat on these monarchies³⁵⁷. Yet, these relations witnessed a real severe relapse after the Muslim Brotherhood's rise to power in June 2012, because of President Morsi's excessive obedience to the Brotherhood's Guidance Bureau, his alliance with radical groups, as well as his dealing with the case of former president Hosni Mubarak, who was seen by the Gulf states as a reliable ally, all these reasons created a sort of apprehension and mistrust that weakened the alliance with Egypt these regimes.

³⁵⁴ Morsi role at Syria rally seen as tipping point for Egypt army", The Irish Times, 4 July 2013

³⁵⁵ International Crisis Group, "Marching in Circles: Egypt's Dangerous Second Transition", Policy Briefing – Middle East/North Africa Briefing No. 35, 7 August 2013

³⁵⁶ Mohsen, M., "Egypt to aid Syrian rebels", Daily News Egypt, 15 June 2013

³⁵⁷ Islamist-led foreign policies: what implications?, pp.157-166 Europe in the reshaped Middle East, Kristina Kausch, FRIDE, 2012).

As for the relations with the west, it also went through a decline during Morsi's presidency, on the contrary of what it used to be before, especially since the beginning of the 1970s, when President Anwar Sadat started to shift Egypt's major international alliance from the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc to the U.S. and its Western allies, from this moment on the relations on all levels either military, security, and economic relations became closer till the end of Mubarak era.

However, After a short period of enthusiasm vis-à-vis the Arab Spring, these countries began to doubt Egypt's capacity to function as a stabilizing factor in the region and their confidence further deteriorated after the Muslim Brotherhood came to power. For example as few months After Morsi's presidency President Barak Obama, expressed his point of view about Egypt's status and how it has been demoted from that of a "strategic ally" to "neither an ally nor an enemy"³⁵⁸."

Though, the U.S. and the EU thought in the very beginning that the Muslim Brotherhood were capable to move Egypt towards a real democratization. Yet, still was big concern about their ability to do so, and which contributed to a certain extent in complicating the relations between Egypt and the west especially the United States. For instance, Morsi's promise during his first public speech on the eve of his inauguration in June 2012, to work to free Omar Abdel-Rahman, the spiritual leader of those convicted in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing³⁵⁹

The United States government issued a firm criticism to his declaration, the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton responded to President Mohamed Morsi's call for extraditing Omar, who is serving life imprisonment in the US, by stating that the legal procedures of his trial

³⁵⁸ David Jocktson, "Obama: Egypt Not an 'Ally' nor 'Enemy,'" USA Today, September 13, 2012.

³⁵⁹ Egypt's new president vows to free blind sheikh tied to 1993 WTC bombing", Daily Mail Online, 29 June 2012.

were correct in her interview with CNN. She added that the evidence against Abdel Rahman, was clear and convincing.

Morsi's spokesperson then tried to rectify the president's statements, pointing that they were based on sympathy for his family, from a humanitarian perspective and not a legal one, adding that Egypt respects laws and criminal rulings issued in other countries with stable judicial systems³⁶⁰. Moreover, New York's mayor stated that he would face any attempt to demoralize the sentence of life imprisonment he had received. Another Obama administration official also mentioned that there was "zero chance this would happen"³⁶¹.

In conjunction with all these events, a coveted visit of President Morsi to the Washington has never been materialized during his year in office, the Muslim Brotherhood wanted the president to conduct an official or a state visit to united states, and the presidency spokesperson declared that President Barak Obama during a phone call between him and president Morsi's, invited the latter to visit Washington.

Yet, unfortunately the white house issued a statement denying the Egyptian spokesperson declarations about what came in this phone call³⁶². This incidence reflects the weakening of the relations between them and the lower priority granted to them by Washington. In the aftermath of issuing the November 22, 2012 decree by President Mohamed Morsi's that grants him broad powers. The State Department released on November, 23rd, a statement mentioning the following:

"this step raise concerns for many Egyptians and for the international community. One of the aspirations of the revolution was to ensure that power would not be overly concentrated in the hands of any

³⁶⁰ Clinton says trial proceedings for 'Blind Sheikh' were correct, July, 02, 2012, Egypt independent

³⁶¹ Kirkpatrick, D., "Egypt's New Leader takes Oath, Promising to Work for Release of Jailed Terrorist", New York Times, 29 June 2012.

³⁶² a statement by the white house concerning the phone call between Morsi and Obama ignoring his invitation to visit Washington, Almasry elyoun, Feb, 27, 2013

one person or institution. The current constitutional vacuum in Egypt can only be resolved by the adoption of a constitution that includes checks and balances, and respects fundamental freedoms, individual rights, and the rule of law consistent with Egypt's international commitments.

We call for calm and encourage all parties to work together and call for all Egyptians to resolve their differences over these important issues peacefully and through democratic dialogue³⁶³".

Relations with Europe:

On the European level, in his early months of office Ousted president Morsi visited many key European capitals for Egypt, namely, Berlin, Rome and Brussels, as well as receiving a number of European Union envoys, which is considered as the second economic partner for the country. Morsi attempted through these steps to induce some sort of confidence in political situation of his country, in order to encourage economic support

Egypt has always perceived as one of the most important and main pillars needed for maintaining the union's political stability. Yet, this perception or view has been amplified especially with fear of the re-spread of violence and terrorism in Europe by the religious extremist groups namely, ISIS or Al-Qaeeda; as Egypt has always been one of the most active countries in combating the threats of terrorism.

Moreover, its distinctive geographical location and significant role in the Middle East have always played an important role in bringing Egypt closer to European states. Their relations further strengthened and developed as mentioned earlier in the framework of Euro-Mediterranean partnership (EMP) which was initiated in 1995 and then the EU-Egypt

³⁶³The United States' Reaction to Egypt's November 22 Decisions, Press Statement, U.S Department of State, November 23, 2012

Association Agreement signed in 2001, which came into force in 2004^{(364),(365)}.)

Yet, the Europeans governments chose not to rush in tightening the relations with the new Egyptian Islamist regime. However, they preferred to implement a wait-and-see policy, but generally speaking we can assume that the European stance has been more often positive than negative. At the same moment, Morsi started to encounter unexpected domestic troubles and unrest, which resulted from the confrontations over many issues such as the constitution, government performance and composition, as well as confrontations with many state entities as the judiciary and press, etc.

The European capitals that had been impressed by Morsi early in his presidency as to their own perception-could bring the country to a real democratization began to grow wary because of the rapid deterioration in his popularity after all the prior mentioned events. For instance, many European diplomats in Cairo mentioned they had not expected such a big turnout.

Moreover, these diplomats commented that from the time when the struggle and tension over the constitutional declaration started. it was obvious that Morsi was not reaching out to the political opposition and he was not thoughtful and keen enough about keeping the pledges and promises he repeated more than once to several European officials including the Former High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Catherine Ashton³⁶⁶.

The declining relations with Europe were due to Morsi's regime inability to live up to basic democratic expectations, a fact that was met with much friction in European parliaments.

³⁶⁴ http://eeas.europa.eu/egypt/index_en.htm

³⁶⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/action_plans/egypt_enp_ap_final_en.pdf

³⁶⁶ Morsi's foreign policy failures, 21 July 2013, Dina Ezzat, Ahram online.

The decline in Egypt's standing on the multilateral level especially the Arab, African, and Islamic circles failure to the Muslim brotherhood regime, as Egypt's foreign policy succeeded over the last decades since Nasser's era in guaranteeing the country an important status within the Third world through its organizations, as the Non-Aligned Movement, the Islamic Conference, and the African Union, the matter that enabled it to mobilize support for Egyptian and Arab causes in the different international forums.

Yet, aftermath the January 2011 revolution and the Muslim Brotherhood's consequent arrival to power, Egypt's image as a civic and moderate state gradually started to be changed and replaced by another, which is the unstable and religiously oriented state, this image was a result of its new perception as a fresh safe haven for radical and even terrorist group. Hence, this perception was not appealing for many countries especially which is has been suffering from the threats of political Islam. In conclusion, Egypt's status was about to be converted from a country to be respected to one that should be feared.

In that sense, former President Morsi attempted during his one year presidency to join the BRICS bloc which includes, developing newly industrialized emerging economic powers namely, Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, which was founded in 2001 with the aim of working away from what they deem as Western-dominated international economic system⁽³⁶⁷⁾. Therefore, during his visits to these countries, he expressed clearly his aspiration to accept Egypt as a part of this promising entity, during his visit to New Delhi in March 2013⁽³⁶⁸⁾.

Yet, his efforts failed miserably, not only because of Egypt's weak economic performance, but also owing to the nature of the country's new political regime. The dominance of the Muslim Brotherhood over Egyptian politics did not endear it to countries, especially Russia being the

³⁶⁷ <http://brics6.itamaraty.gov.br/about-brics/information-about-brics>.

³⁶⁸ <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/content/egypt-morsi-aims-join-brics>

best example—that felt threatened by different varieties of Islamic fundamentalism.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that in the year 2003, Russia declared the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization and banned all its activities, this step came after a series of investigations, carried out by the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB), since November 2000 the had led to the listing of about 2000 “structures” linked to the Muslim Brotherhood in some 49 out of 89 Russian regions, as well as in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

These inquiries claimed that these brotherhood structures were related to charitable entities sponsored by organizations in some Arab countries as Egypt, Kuwait, Yemen, and Palestine. Moreover, The FSB claimed it had blown the whistle on a network of militant Islamic cells run by extremists seeking to agitate trouble in both Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States³⁶⁹.

The Ethiopian challenge to Egypt’s water rights in the Nile Traditionally, Egypt’s national security concept has located the sources of threats it faced in the north, from where the Greeks, the Romans, the French, and the British had invaded; the northeast, from where the Crusaders, the Mongols, the Turks, and the Israelis attacked; and the south, where the sources of the Nile-Egypt’s water lifeline—are located: the Ethiopian heights and the central African Nile Basin states³⁷⁰.

The threats brewing in this last area were largely neglected by Egyptian policy planners over the past few decades, allowing the Nile Basin states to build a coalition that threatened to undermine Egyptian interests through a new accord that would replace previous agreements signed with Egypt in 1902, 1929, and 1959. Although Egypt’s

³⁶⁹ The Muslim Brotherhood in Russia, J. Millard Burr, Dec, 9th 2014, American center for democracy.

³⁷⁰ Mohamed Hassanein Heikal, “Egyptian Foreign Policy,” Foreign Affairs, July 1978.)

disagreements with the Nile Basin states did not begin with the January 2011 revolution and Morsi's later advent to power, these developments further complicated Egypt's relations with these countries. Thus, Ethiopia felt it could move ahead with construction of the Nahdha Dam on the Blue Nile, potentially diminishing the amount of water available to Egypt and its ability to generate electricity from the Aswan Dam. Ethiopia's move in turn encouraged other Nile Basin states to explore the possibilities of other projects on the Nile without seeking Egypt's consent. Egypt's nightmare of water deprivation thus came closer

The fragility of Egypt's new alliances To compensate for the aforementioned weakening of Egypt's international and regional standing, President Morsi attempted to build a new coalition composed of Egypt, Qatar, and Turkey. But Turkey's entanglement in Syria and the protests in Istanbul's Taksim Square in June 2013 have made Ankara too vulnerable and fragile to be a solid regional and international partner. Such a coalition would have been fragile in any case, given Qatar's small size and Turkey's diversified and often conflicting interests in Europe, Central Asia, and the Middle East.

Endangering the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty Although President Morsi made every effort to keep the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty intact, and his government helped to end the 2012 Israel-Hamas military conflict, many Israelis worried about the long-term implications of the relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and its subsidiary in Gaza. Israel's uneasiness was compounded by the continued functioning of the Gaza-Sinai tunnels and the movement of thousands of Egyptian and international Islamist terrorists across the border into the Sinai. The more frequent attacks on Egyptian security personnel in the Sinai Peninsula further increased apprehension about a crisis in the making in Egyptian-Israeli relations.

Loss of the trust of the international community the cumulative effect of the aforementioned trajectories, coupled with the deterioration of

domestic politics in Egypt, made the international community doubtful of Egypt's ability to meet its international obligations. The most glaring expression of this lack of confidence was Egypt's failure to sign an agreement with the IMF to grant it a \$4.8 billion loan. The mistrust of Egypt's ability to manage the challenges it faced has led to a sharp decline in tourism and foreign investments.

The Fall of Muslim brotherhood in Egypt and its strategic effects.

The June 2013 Egyptian Revolution which is also referred to by several domestic and international media sources as the "Second Revolution", took place on the 30th of June, a date that marked the first anniversary of the former president Mohamed Morsi inauguration, as the number one civilian fairly and democratically elected president of Egypt. On that day, mass protests with millions of Egyptian people, started across the whole country, where demonstrators took the main squares and streets, calling for the instant stand down of the president and demanded for the organization of early presidential elections, along with the kick off a replenished constituent process.

The rallies were a direct response to "Rebel" or as known in Arabic as "Tamarod" which is a grassroots movement, that managed to instigate a petition in April 2013, demanding for the Muslim brotherhood government to resign and succeeded to gather more than 22 million signatures only in 2 months. The number of protesters was estimated to be 14 million, according to military sources that claimed to have counted the numbers through helicopters that scanned the demonstrations' perimeters across the country, and is has been described as "the largest gathering during the course of the Egyptian history"

Tamarod movement succeeded to coordinate a door-to-door, street-level, campaign to mass signatures from Egyptians throughout the whole country, it was supported by several opposition parties as well as independent social movement. Thus, the movement unceasingly earned

strong admiration and popularity among Egyptian people which was reflected in their readiness to register their names and identity card numbers in addition to their signatures on the petition form in public⁽³⁷¹⁾.

Meanwhile, Tamarod was also strengthening its political activity, through bringing together all the anti-Brotherhood parties and most political factions namely the April 6th youth movement and the national salvation front, as well as enough or as known in Arabic "kefaya movement" in its doings.

Rebel movement started on the 30th of June front to manage both the next demonstrations and the transitional period which will follow Morsi's overthrow, hence, they suggested a roadmap for the management of the latter, during which the head of the Supreme Constitutional Court would take over the power to be the interim president, also all executive powers would be delivered to a newly chosen prime minister.

Furthermore, the suspension of the 2012 constitution and forming a committee of experts to draft a new constitution to be put to a referendum were also amongst the demands of the protests and they were also a part of the newly set roadmap⁽³⁷²⁾. The leaders of the tamarod movement stated the following:

"We announce the 30 June Front as an initiative from Tamarod to represent Egyptians who refuse Muslim Brotherhood rule and to share with the great Egyptian people their political vision in order to avoid the mistakes of the past period and to continue on the path of January 25 Revolution"

Nevertheless, as a counter reaction towards Tamarod movement from the Muslim Brotherhood group and their supporters of other Islamicfactionsanother movement called "Tagarod" (which is Arabic

³⁷¹<http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/06/05/reactions-vary-to-tamarods-30-june-plans/>

³⁷² <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75034.aspx>

translation for "impartiality") which was initiated by "Al-Gama'a al-Islamiya" prominent figure Assem Abdel Maged, who urged President Morsi's supporters to sign a petition to keep the "legitimately elected president in his post"⁽³⁷³⁾.

Yet, this campaign, was a big failure in terms of its impact compared to Tamarod which was able to penetrate and mobilize the silent majority or the critical mass of Egyptian people who usually avoided participation in any political events but prominently joined anti-Morsi demonstrations this time⁽³⁷⁴⁾.

The second Egyptian revolution with the huge numbers of protestors revealed that Morsi's opponents were not only a small bunch as was claimed by the Muslim brotherhood leaders. on the contrary, it was a clear reflection for the anger of the Egyptians of Morsi's regime only one year after being in office as a result of accumulative errors on both internal and external levels. Domestically, he did nothing to rescue the economy from forthcoming collapse,

Although only in office for a year, Morsi's presidency oversaw the worst economic crisis in Egypt since the 1930s⁽³⁷⁵⁾. with almost half of Egyptians living close to or below the poverty line⁽³⁷⁶⁾. In that sense it is worth mentioning that the Egyptian pound and foreign exchange reserves have both fallen, inflation was rising and unemployment among those youth under 24 rose up to more than 40%,⁽³⁷⁷⁾ energy problems augmented with electricity cuts that have become annoyingly frequent and queues for petrol have prolonged in the street⁽³⁷⁸⁾.

All these factors led to the tarnish of the Egypt's image and reputation abroad. Thus, in the sake of overcoming the country's economic

³⁷³ <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/16279>

³⁷⁴ <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/10/gaza-tamarod-protests-oust-hamas.html>

³⁷⁵ Kingsley, P., "Egypt 'suffering worst economic crisis since 1930s', The Guardian, 16 May 2013

³⁷⁶ Egypt's Poverty rate rises to 26% in 2012/13: CAPMAS", Ahram Online, 28 November 2013.

³⁷⁷ Halime, F., "Egypt's Long-Term Economic Recovery Plan Stalls", The New York Times, 2 May 2013

³⁷⁸ Egypt's tragedy, the economist, July6th, 2013

problems, former president Morsi had to implement tough reforms and secure a \$4.8 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF)³⁷⁹. Yet, despite an initial agreement with the IMF, Morsi yielded to the pressure of the Muslim Brotherhood leadership and suspended the loan and the agreed reforms in an attempt to appease the public opinion and to expand his popular support⁽³⁸⁰⁾.

Moreover, Morsi's refusal to work with opposition parties complicated the situation preventing as well the development of an effective economic policy, as stated by the visiting IMF delegations, he ought to build extensive popular and political support in order to achieve success for his reforms. Instead, he isolated himself from dealing not only with the opposition³⁸¹, but also large employers and trade unions, and preferred cooperating solely with his Muslim Brotherhood allies³⁸².

Two main dilemmas contributed to the fall of Muslim Brotherhood rule, the first is related to the way Morsi and his group dealt with the state and its institutions, and the second is society's perception of the Muslim Brotherhood. As for the way in which the Muslim Brotherhood dealt with these institutions it played a major role in their downfall, the state's institutions were seriously threatened after the January 25th revolution, the matter which distracted their functioning.

In that sense, it is worth mentioning that after former President Mubarak's ouster, those institutions were in deep need of a real political leadership capable of remodeling them rather than avenging or demolishing them. Yet, the Muslim brotherhood failed to offer any political or institutional alternatives capable of reforming its way of functioning. On the contrary, The Muslim Brotherhood, which remained

³⁷⁹ Black I., "Mohamed Morsi: the Egyptian opposition charge sheet", The Guardian, 3 July 2013

³⁸⁰ Halime, F., "Egyptian Economy Caught in a Political Bind", The New York Times, 19 December 2012.

³⁸¹ Charbel, J., "In opposition to Morsy, Mahalla declares autonomy", Egypt Independent, 12 December 2012

³⁸² Farid, D., "Egypt's economy over three years of turmoil", Daily News Egypt, 20 September 2014.

a secret and banned group for a long period of time tried to take revenge on it after rising to power.

Successful transition experiences showed that any new power or radical group that comes from outside the traditional political system of the state, must adopt some sort of a calming policy toward this system, which has shaped the outlines of the country for many consecutive years. However, The Muslim Brotherhood during its year in power ignored the reality that it was a group with has origins outside of Egyptian state institutions, unlike all other rulers from Abdel Nasser to Mubarak. Hence, instead of pursuing a real reform process, the Muslim Brotherhood proceeded in the opposite direction, choosing to intimidate the existing state institutions.

The Brotherhood intentionally rebuffed and coldshouldered those with any experience in fields of law and policy making, consequently they failed to manage the political life or even reach an inclusive constitution. Nevertheless, they chose to take an antagonistic attitude toward the all-important state apparatuses namely, police, judiciary, and army as well as Foreign Service alongside with the press. Morsi insisted to undermine these main powers, which are considered as the main pillars that reflects the power of government in mature democracies.

For instance, they opted to go into struggles and clashes with the judicial authority, well-known historically for its conducts and traditions. It did so not with the aim of restructuring them but rather to try to control these institutions. This approach was demonstrated clearly when ousted president Morsi issued a decree that exempts all of Morsi's decisions from legal challenge, these new edicts give the president near-absolute power and immunity from appeals in courts for any decisions or laws he declares until a new constitution and parliament is in place, as well as offering the same protection to the Islamist-dominated constituent assembly, which was drawing up the country's 2012 constitution. This move triggered Egypt's most senior judges who condemned the ousted President for

granting himself sweeping new powers which they described as an "unprecedented assault" on the independence of the judiciary. However, Morsi's assistants indicated that the presidential decree aimed at speeding up the delayed democratic transition that has been hampered by several legal impediments³⁸³.

On the level of the other bureaucracies as the army, police and Foreign Service, it should be noted, the Egyptian state has historically refused narrow-minded ideological stances. For instance, the Egyptian army has no ideological affiliation unlike other armies in the Middle East region, as is the case of Turkey. Instead, the army reflects Egyptian society in its conservatism and religiousness as well as in its civility. Similarly, the Egyptian bureaucracy has never had an ideological affiliation, even during President Gamal Abdel Nasser era, when the rhetoric of socialism was predominant. Even if the Muslim Brotherhood did not try to impose "sharia law" on the state and society or change anything significant in civil law, yet the perception of the Brotherhood as a closed ideological group continued, the matter that triggered and annoyed both the state and the society.

The religious establishment of the organization, which served to keep the Brotherhood's consistency throughout many year while it was in the political opposition, closed and confined it from the rest of society. The belief of the Muslim Brotherhood members that their association with the group is considered as a sort "jihad in the name of God" and that preserving the organization is a goal in itself, all these factors assisted in retaining the group intact during its presence in opposition. Yet, upon its arrival to power, all the latter factors became a point of weakness as they kept the Brothers in a closed group, isolated from the rest of the society. This state has augmented the people's antipathy towards the organization,

³⁸³ Egypt's top judges condemn Mohamed Morsi power grab, Hannah Godfrey & Peter Beaumont, The Guardian, November, 24th, 2012.

which many people perceived as prioritizing the interests of its members before the interests of society.

Additionally, there are some opinions suggesting that the closed nature of the Muslim Brotherhood led it to govern the country via the same secretive or clandestine measures that it used before during its time in opposition. Officials in various ministries and government sectors complained that state institutions were led by small circles of Muslim Brotherhood members and allies. They did their meetings in such a private manner during which representatives from the ministries discussed with advisers from the Muslim Brotherhood matters of governance, while the other employees at the ministries did not know about the discussions and outcome of these meetings. Thus, the Muslim Brotherhood transferred the practice of holding secret meetings to the heart of government institutions³⁸⁴.

Not only this, they started a campaign or a process of empowerment in the Egyptian bureaucracy, (or “Ikhwanisation”) in Arabic, through granting jobs to their members or affiliates. For instance, in only seven months they employed more than 13,000 personnel in different ministries and governmental institutions in all fields. Not only this, but this process extended also to reach the higher level, in that sense, in the government of Hesham Kandil the Prime Minister during Morsi's era, eight Muslim Brotherhood members were appointed as ministers.

Alongside many ministers' advisors and deputy ministers were part of the group or affiliates, this is beside the appointment of spokespersons, director of minister's cabinet in certain ministries namely education, health, industry and foreign trade as well as Deans of Faculties and Heads of Universities⁽³⁸⁵⁾.

³⁸⁴ The end of the Muslim brotherhood rule in Egypt, Amr Mahmoud El- Shobaki, August, 1st, 2013

³⁸⁵ Conquering Egypt, documents of Muslim Brotherhood empowerment, Fattah Masr Wathaek Al Tamkeen Al Ekhwani, in Arabic, Hamdi Rezk, p.p 147-150, Dar Nahdet Masr Publishing

In a nutshell, the Muslim Brotherhood persisted to follow their old traditional approach as a secret group when it arrived to power and refused to legalize its status in accordance with state laws. This expanded the opinion that it was, with no overestimation or exaggeration, a clandestine group that ruled Egypt from behind a curtain, with vicious plans to damage the country and remain on the top of power in the country.

In assessing the Brotherhood's Attitude, we can highlight that the Brotherhood wasted a genuine chance to accomplish democratic transition in Egypt, in that sense their failure in ruling Egypt would be considered as exceptional in the history of political movements, because usually opposition groups or movements learn extensively when they come to power in a country. Nevertheless, the Muslim Brotherhood went in the opposite direction from the path it should have taken. Accordingly, it brought the whole country to the edge the matter that made many people support the idea of carrying out the unprecedented popular uprising of June 30th.

It is important to consider what has happened to Egypt since the ousting of Morsi in the context of the perception many people had of the Muslim Brotherhood. The popular rejection of the group, which many Egyptians viewed as an outsider to the society, was unprecedented. This failure should push the Muslim Brotherhood to consider a surgical reevaluation of its thinking, a task it has neglected to undertake since its establishment in 1928. If the Brotherhood refuses to evolve and learn from its mistakes, it will squander any future opportunities it may have to be an influential component of the Egyptian political spectrum.

On the level of foreign policy, there was a real misconduct of on all fronts, it became clear that adopting and shaping of a new and different foreign policy was not a priority for the new regime. In that sense, we can claim that the major parameters of foreign policy during the Muslim brotherhood remained the same without any change. the only difference

that appeared was primarily in the execution of the foreign policy, it became less efficient due to the confusion and duality in the decision-making were made at two levels first by state bodies, including the foreign ministry and national intelligence, and then by the Muslim Brotherhood's foreign policy advisors³⁸⁶.

Furthermore, the Muslim brotherhood group underestimated the strong linkage between Egypt's foreign and domestic policies, as after the 2011 revolution, the public opinion played an unprecedented role in influencing the formation of foreign policy and decision making process. It is worth to be mentioned that Egypt's domestic stability prior to 2011 had always been built on the grounds of a moderate, consistent and pragmatic foreign policy shored up by strong alliances with the both United States and the Arab Gulf monarchies.

Hence, since the election of Mohamed Morsi's as the president of Egypt in June 2012, an anti-American sentiment augmented within a large sector of the Egyptian society, to the extent that Anne Patterson, US Ambassador to Cairo at that time, was singled out during the marches as the one to hold responsible for allegedly plotting to bring Morsi to power and for knotting political bargains and deals with high-ranking Brotherhood officials and leaders⁽³⁸⁷⁾.

From her part the former US ambassador Paterson censured the 30th of June protest march against the Muslim brotherhood president, and emphasized that the White House supported and backed him because he was the first democratically and fairly elected president in the history of the country. In that sense she declared "Some say that street action will produce better results than elections. To be honest, my government and I are deeply skeptical,⁽³⁸⁸⁾"

³⁸⁶ Morsi's foreign policy failures, 21 July 2013, Dina Ezzat, aham online.

³⁸⁷ <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/07/19/they-hate-us-they-really-hate-us/>

³⁸⁸ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2013/07/01/egypts-protesters-find-a-new-villain-the-u-s-ambassador/>.

Moreover, some of the foremost activists entitled her as "the evil lady" who is generating divisions among Egyptians, highlighting that Washington and the Brotherhood have bonded to confound and overwhelm them. There was a strong and sound faith among the majority of the Egyptian people that the American government was sturdily intervening in the country's domestic affairs⁽³⁸⁹⁾.

The Arab spring represented the most important challenge as well as the greatest opportunity for political Islam, which started in Egypt during first quarter of the 20th century by Hassan el Banna who established the Muslim Brotherhood group in 1928 which afterwards expanded to the whole Arab world. The backbone of the political Islam policy and its *raison d'etre* has been always based on claiming the oppression and injustice they are facing through all these decades.

However, the fall of the authoritarian regimes in some Arab countries proved the opposite. In fact, it unveiled many realities about the weakness and lack of planning of these groups as they never had a real project to develop Egypt for the benefit of the Egyptians and they were not ready to rule the country which means that the greatest loss and defeat for the political Islam came from the Islamists themselves. The Egyptian experience of the Muslim Brotherhood in power has been dreadful. The Morsi presidency took the country along to the edge of collapse and civil war, winning unfavorable comparisons with the previous regimes, especially Mubarak's regime⁽³⁹⁰⁾.

In conclusion, June 30th revolution might be considered as the main reason behind the regression of the phenomenon of political Islam

³⁸⁹<http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/07/03/knives-come-out-for-u-s-ambassador-to-egypt-anne-patterson/>

³⁹⁰ The Egyptian Experience of the Muslim Brotherhood in Power 2012-2013, Report, 9 Bedford Row, 3 June 2015.

will face during the coming decade at least not only in Egypt but in the Arab world⁽³⁹¹⁾.

Ouster of the Muslim Brotherhood and International Reactions:

As for the international reactions about President Mohamed Morsi being deposed from the position after only one year by the popular revolution of the 30th of June, they varied from being too harsh as the reaction of the African union and some other countries as will discuss later, to the full support as the situation of Russia. Also these reactions were characterized by the confusion, un clarity and uncertainty, as some of the regional and international powers as well as the international organizations at the moment described what happened in Egypt as a "military coup" a description that will impose some kind of certain reaction from the part of these powers and organizations that might contradict and oppose their economic and political interests with Egypt in a way that might affect negatively the future path of the relations with this strategic country.

In summary, the Responses which varied both internationally and regionally towards the future roadmap that was announced by Defense Minister at that time Abdel Fattah al-Sisi on July 3rd, 2013, between supporters and opponents. Reluctance by some countries was noticed on the characterization of what happened on June 30, whether it is "a new popular uprising" or "softcoup" against a democratically elected-president. However, and after a while most of the world's countries were convinced that what happened in Egypt was an uprising and a second wave of the January 25 popular revolution against a new authoritarian regime.

Many high officials in prominent international organizations preferred to appear as professional and neutral as possible to avoid

³⁹¹ Mohamed abdallah younis Mawget enhedar wave of declination the reflections of morsi's overthrow on the Muslim brotherhood organizations in the region, the regional center for strategic studies, Cairo, July 2013.

damaging the relations with Egypt. For example the secretary general of the United Nations Ban Ki Moon in a series of declarations about the situation in Egypt in July and August 2013, expressed his worries about the removal of a democratically elected president by the military, but in the meantime he heightened the legitimacy of the demands of the Egyptian people, urging in the same time the accelerating the process of returning back to civilian rule and maintaining the democracy and human rights. His spokesperson in a declaration attributed to the secretary general July 2013 few days after the escalation of events in Cairo the UN reiterates its calls to return of stability and peaceful dialogue among different stakeholders in the country and rejection of violence. Moreover, He also urged the Egyptian authorities to end arbitrary arrests and called for Morsi and other detained MB leaders to be released or have their cases reviewed immediately^{(392),(393),(394)}.

In august after the breakup of the sit in of the Muslim brotherhood and their followers in Al Nahda and Rabaa Al adawia, the secretary general Ban Ke Moon condemned the use of force from the part of the Egyptian security forces against the protesters. As well, He urged all the Egyptian stakeholders to intensify their efforts in order to reach quick national reconciliation.

As for the African union reaction which was considered as the harshest international reaction ever against the removal of President Morsi, as it decided in its resolution issued on July 5th 2013 to suspend the participation of Egypt in the activities of the union. This decision was taken under the allegation that what has happened in Egypt was a unconstitutional military coup against democratically elected authority⁽³⁹⁵⁾.

³⁹² <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=45352#.VnrVCnYrLIU>

³⁹³ <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=45366#.VnrX83YrLIV>

³⁹⁴ <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=45543#.VnrZpXYrLIV>

³⁹⁵ <http://www.peaceau.org/en/article/communique-of-the-peace-and-security-council-of-the-african-union-at-its-384th-meeting-on-the-situation-in-the-arab-republic-of-egypt>

This reaction from the part of the regional organization was taken under the Lomé declaration adopted in July 2000 on the unconstitutional change of governments in the member states. this declaration stipulates that the membership of any country facing unconstitutional change of regime either through military coup or rebel movement should be suspended with a grace period of six month would be given to the coup power to restore the constitutional authority. thus, in case of failure in this step then sanctions will be imposed on the country, this case has been seen before when the union decided to suspended the membership of Central Africa, Mali and Madagascar⁽³⁹⁶⁾.

From its part the Egyptian government immediately reacted to the African union's situation, through issuing a declaration made by its Foreign Minister at that time Mohamed Kamel Amr expressing Egypt's deep regret to the issuance of such unfair and precipitated resolution which misunderstands the truth about the popular revolution that took place in the country. as well he aspired at correcting the democratic course in the country. Moreover, he stated that the Foreign Ministry began to take urgent steps and make extensive contacts with many African countries, in particular members of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, to express Egypt's dissatisfaction with the resolution, which ignored the ambitions and aspirations of the Egyptian people, and counted on weak legal and inaccurate grounds irrelevant to Egyptian situation".

"Also, he added that the Lomé Declaration, issued in 2000, based on the Peace and Security Council resolution, does not address cases of changing regimes and governments through legitimate popular revolutions against governments who deviated from the democratic and constitutional path, yet limited to handling cases of military coups, armed rebellion movements and other cases irrelevant to the revolution correcting course on June 30.

³⁹⁶ <http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/ahg-decl-2-xxxvi-e.pdf>

On the other hand, the Foreign Minister expressed hope that the African Peace and Security Council would reconsider, at the earliest convenience, its resolution on suspending Egypt's participation in the activities of the African Union. He revealed the intention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to send envoys to a number of African countries in the coming days to clarify the ongoing developments in Egypt and how vast is the popular support for the process of transferring power to the Civil interim President of Egypt, and the road map, which would ensure correcting and continuing the constitutional path as fast as possible, toward holding the parliamentary and presidential elections⁽³⁹⁷⁾".

On the other hand, the Secretary General of NatoAnder's Fogh Rasmussen in his statement issued on August 14th, 2013, declared that he was deeply concerned about the situation in Egypt, and the continuing reports of "bloodshed and deploring the loss of life", adding that Egypt is an important partner for NATO through the Mediterranean Dialogue. He called on all sides to exercise restraint and refrain from violence and to work to restore the political process⁽³⁹⁸⁾.

On the European level, ranging attitudes were noticed either from the part of the European powers either individually or separately and between the common European stance towards the removal of the former president Morsi at that time. However, these reactions were totally altered after a while with the appointment of the head of the constitutional court Adly Mansour as an interim president according to the Egyptian constitution in the 4th of July 2013 for one year ended in 8th June 2014.

In that sense, the position of the European Union was expressed by many statements that was issued throughout the whole course of events in Egypt. For instance, the former European Union's High Representative

³⁹⁷ <http://www.mfa.gov.eg/english/ministry/news/pages/NewsDetails.aspx?Source=6781921f-3993-444a-859e-ee26ce851de8&newsID=6b606fcd-15a7-4992-ba79-4d3122608df0>

³⁹⁸ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-F3858040E11804F6/natolive/press_releases.htm?query=&keywordquery=*&date_from=&date_to=&sort=date:D:R:d1&start=370

For Foreign Affairs And Security Policy Catherine Ashton, in different statements urged all sides to return to the democratic process. This included the holding of free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections and the approval of a constitution, to be done in a fully inclusive manner, so as to permit the country to resume and complete its democratic transition." Additionally, she expressed her hope that the new administration will be fully inclusive and reiterated the importance of ensuring full respect for fundamental rights, freedoms and the rule of law."

On the side of the individual European states reactions, it can be identified through highlighting the positions of the main European powers namely, Germany, United Kingdom, Spain, and France. For instance, the German Foreign Minister at that time mentioned that "the country must return to constitutional order as quickly as possible and called on all those responsible in Egypt, to act calmly, to meet each other halfway and to seek ways out of this serious crisis of state together."³⁹⁹

In the United Kingdom, Prime Minister declared in a statement about the events that were taking place in Egypt that "It is not for this country to support any single group or party, "What we should support is proper democratic processes and proper government by consent". While his Foreign Secretary also mentioned that his government doesn't support military intervention as a way to resolve disputes in a democratic system and it's of course a dangerous precedent to do that, if one president can be deposed by the military, then of course another one can be in the future that's a dangerous thing." These declarations took place immediately after the removal of president Morsi from power after the 30th of June revolution⁽³⁹⁹⁾.

From its part the French government, expressed its hopes for the organization of the elections that the new Egyptian leadership have promised, so that the Egyptian people can freely choose their leaders and

³⁹⁹ Setback for Democracy, Spiegel online international, July 4th, 2013.

their future." Nevertheless, this statement from French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius did not directly address president Morsi's toppling⁽³⁹⁹⁾.

The Spanish Government has conveyed to the Egyptian ambassador in Madrid their concern about the ongoing situation in Egypt, and asked for the "containment" of the demonstrators⁴⁰⁰. Moreover, The Prime Minister expressed his hope that the situation in Egypt would be fixed in the earliest possible chance, adding that he would like that the problems in Egypt and across North Africa in areas closer to Spain could be resolved"⁴⁰¹.

In reality, the European union the first trade partner for Egypt was not expected to have a different attitude, this could be attributed to various reasons, including, the division in the positions in the individual European countries concerning the developments of the events in Egypt. Additionally, the insignificant amount of the European aid granted for Cairo as well as the humble military cooperation and activity between the two sides, don't represent a strong pressing factor that can influence the new Egyptian authorities.

Moreover, the deterioration of the situation in Egypt and the danger of its gradual sliding into deep political and sectarian divisions under the rule of the Muslim brotherhood wasn't a hidden fact for most of the European capitals⁴⁰². Furthermore, there is a growing stream of the governments in Europe which realized that the rule of the Muslim brotherhood in countries of Arab spring is a failure and they won't be able to continue in the power either in the post-revolutionary countries and Turkey, a matter which might encourage the extremists in the Islamic and

⁴⁰⁰ Europa se plantea endurecer sus relaciones con El Cairo, Europe proposes to harden its relations with Cairo, Luis doncel. El pais internacional, 16 august 2013.

⁴⁰¹ Rajoy sobre Egipto: "Espero que las cosas se arreglen a la mayor celeridad posible", Rajoy on Egypt: "I hope things as quickly as possible get fixed ", el pais internacional, 4 July 2013

⁴⁰² Egypt and the EuropeanUnionhold the stick from the middle, masr wa al ithad al orooby , emsak alasa men almontasaf, Dr. Mostafa al labad, assafir newspaper, august 23rd, 2013.

Arab communities in the European countries to commit terrorist attacks all around Europe.

This came in contradiction and disappointing to the assumptions of the majority of the European capitals who thought that enforcing and strengthening the Islamic rule in the Arab spring countries and Ankara to the extent that would allow them to have such a big influence on the above mentioned communities avoid their expected violence, as the Europeans believed that the Muslim brotherhood is capable of limiting the extremism more than any other democratic or national governments⁴⁰³.

On the other hand, Russia through the Chairman of the foreign affairs committee in the Russian senate, argued that what happened in Egypt is a correction of the path of the Arab Spring and not the its end, adding that this step has been supported by opposition parties and youth groups, and mass demonstrations in major cities across the country. From his part the Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, mentioned that Egypt should seek a peaceful transition of power through a fair elections, emphasizing Moscow's concern about the risk of further unrest after the overthrow of President Mohamed Morsi, though in the same time supporting efforts aimed at ending any manifestations of violence and confrontation, and promoting the stability of the country.

Moreover, he emphasized, that the stability in the Middle East and the Islamic region and the world depends to a large extent on the development of the situation in Egypt, highlighting that Moscow is interested in maintaining security and stability in Egypt and the entire region.

The Russian foreign minister underscored that Egyptians must decide their own fate on the basis of internal comprehensive dialogue.

⁴⁰³ The international pressure to internationalize the Egyptian crisis, in Arabic, al doghot aldawleya letadweel alazma almasria, al-Hayat newspaper, Gamil Matar, august 19th, 2013)

Also, he stressed the importance of maintaining the cooperation with Egypt, pointing out that this cooperation does not depend on the existence of this or that government⁴⁰⁴. While Russian President Vladimir Putin expressed his fears that Egypt could have slid towards a civil war similar to what took place in Syria.

The official "mysterious balanced" position of Moscow as argued or described by many opinions can be partially attributed to the recommendations that has been submitted by some orientalists to the Russian parliament "kremlin" during Morsi's rule. These recommendations underscored the importance of the adoption of a more pragmatic policy by Russia to keep up with the changes in some countries in the Middle East region, they also presented the Muslim Brotherhood as a "moderate group" that should be dealt with to secure that Russian interests in the region.

In this context, also some Russian thinkers and analysts argued that the Islamic forces that came to power in some Egypt do not represent a real threat, adding that the opposition against the Muslim brotherhood remains very limited, so that it's not capable on loosening the brotherhood authority, and president Morsi and his group remain the most powerful and influential. Undoubtedly, these recommendations which reflects the division among the Russian elites, led Moscow to adopt a more pragmatic and balanced position towards the course of events in Egypt⁴⁰⁵.

On the other hand, the neutrality of the official Russian attitude can be referred back to the mistakes that Moscow had committed during the Arab spring towards Libya, Tunisia thus Russia tends to be more cautious while dealing with the course of events in Egypt but for Moscow the toppling of the Muslim brotherhood represent a triumph for the

⁴⁰⁴ International reactions to 30th of June, *almawakef al dawlia men 30 uonio*, Arab center for research and studies, 17th, July 2013)

⁴⁰⁵ Moscow and the isolation of Morsi, the balance and mystery. *Moscow Wa Azl Morsi*, in Arabic, *Altawazon Wa Alghomood*, Dr.Hany Shady, Assafir newspaper, august 12th, 2013

Russian administration that has been fighting the Islamic movements in northern Caucasus.

In general, the Russia will remain linked or concerned with maintaining two important strategic interests in Egypt, namely, sustaining the wheat contracts, as Egypt is considered as the first importer of wheat from Moscow, and conserving the security of the Russian people and tourists in Egypt, which is considered as a primary and cheaptouristic destination for the Russians⁴⁰⁶.

Israel has responded cautiously to the events in Egypt, in this context, the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, expressed his hopes that new transitional government headed by interim president Adly Mansour, could resume the frozen contacts between the two countries. Moreover, parliamentary sources in Knesset close to Netanyahu have made some press declarations mentioned that Isolating Morsi strengthens the feeling that both countries may have passed the bad period, and there may be an opportunity now to revive the relations with upcoming ruling system in Egypt in the near future⁴⁰⁷.

From its part, the position of China towards the events in Egypt was pragmatic to a certain extent. Thus, in that context the Chinese ministry of foreign affairs issued a statement announcing its full support to Egyptian people's choice, and called for pursuing the dialogue between all the parties of the society. Also, it expressed its hope that all concerned parties in Egypt will avoid the resort to violence, and that they can resolve their differences through dialogue and consultation in order to achieve reconciliation and social stability⁴⁰⁸.

⁴⁰⁶ Russian silence towards Egypt, no condemnation no praise , Samt Russy Tegah Masr, in Arabic la Edana la eshada, Rita Mita , Assafir Newapaper, July 5th , 2013

⁴⁰⁷La Unión Europea pide que Egipto vuelva a la democracia “cuanto antes”, the European union calls Egypt to return back to democracy as soon as possible, El Pais internacional, July 4th , 2012).

⁴⁰⁸<http://www.alalam.ir/news/1491328>, in Arabic, international and Arab reactions to the ouster of Morsi, July 4th 2013

Moreover, the statement underscored the importance of the historical and developing bilateral relations between the two countries that is based on friendship and cooperation, pointing out at the same time that these relations will not be altered and will continue regardless of any changes that have taken place on the domestic level in Egypt. Some opinions argue that this position is not strange for the Chinese foreign policy that is usually characterized by pragmatism which was totally highlighted in its declaration about the continuity of the relations under any cost⁽⁴⁰⁹⁾.

On the level of the Arab countries, most or nearly all of them with the exception of Qatar and Tunisia, supported the removal of the Muslim brotherhood president, in that sense this support can be determined or traced through analyzing their reactions to the 30th of June that led to the deposition of Morsi. Hence, it is possible to underscore these positions; through statements, congratulatory telegrams, and aids sent by many countries to Egypt, following the move by the defense minister at that time Abdel Fattah al-Sisi in order to preserve the nation. Most Gulf States supported the overthrow of Mohamed Morsi, especially Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait, as well as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Syria.

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia had realized that Cairo before the 30th of June and during the one year rule of the Muslim brotherhood has come into a very critical revolutionary status, which involved many parties, namely, a political class that is affiliated to the Mubarak regime and some youth revolutionists who doesn't have neither a history in the political field nor an organized political and ideological leadership, besides the presence of the Muslim brotherhood group in power in the country, with their relatively vast popularity -at that point of time-, this

⁴⁰⁹ Foreign attitudes towards the isolation of Morsi, a trial to understand, in Arabic ,almawakef alkhargeia hey'al azel morsi, mohawla lelfahm, almasry elyoun, july 11th, 2013)

organization that had no previous experience in the governance while on the contrary having an long standing practice in opposition.

Thus, and in light of all these pressing circumstances, Riyadh thought that the intervention of the military institution in Egypt to save the country from a faral destination and chaotic scene similar to that of many other neighboring countries in the middle east region was a must at that point of time. It realized that the stability of Egypt, especially, after the fall of both Syria and Iraq means the stability of the whole region and it became a priority not only for Cairo but for Saudi Arabia too.

This was reflected in the Saudi position from the events that took place in Egypt on the 30th of June 2013, and led to the ousting of former president Morsi, in which the Saudi monarch, late King Abdallah has sent congratulatory letter immediately to the counselor Adly Mansour, the head of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt, who was appointed as interim president of the State. He praised in his letter, the leadership of the Egyptian armed forces for taking such a step that brought Egypt of a dark tunnel that nobody knows its dimensions and repercussions. Moreover, Saudi Arabia has decided to provide an aid package to Egypt of five billion dollars, including two billion dollars cash deposit to be put in the Central Bank, and another two billion dollars of oil products and gas, and one billion dollars in cash. This stance aimed at sending a clear message to the new interim Egyptian regime that it is backed and supported by key powers in the region.

Goals of the Saudi support to Egypt:

It could be argued that the Saudi position from the June30th revolution was based on three main factors, the first and the most important among them was preserving the stability of Egypt which represents a paramount strategic interest for Riyadh in this current moment, as Saudi Arabia lies in the core of the ongoing events in the middle east for more than three years, because of its geographical location

which lies between Yemen, Iraq and Bahrain, which all suffer from either wars or internal tensions and problems.

On the other hand, Saudi Arabia represents one of the most important sides of what is known as "the Arab regional order" which was founded by four main countries in the Middle East region mainly Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Syria. This order had been imperiled by the fall of Baghdad and Saddam Hussein regime by the American invasion in 2003 and its consequences which ended by the spread of terrorism and chaos in the country by "Iraq and Syria Islamic state"(ISIS or Daesh).

Furthermore, the Iranian influence has extensively increased in the Arab region as an upshot of the Iraq invasion, this was followed by the eruption of the revolution in Syria which turned to be a devastating civil war for more than five years now. Therefore, the only two countries left in the Arab regional order were Egypt and Saudi Arabia, in that context the latter has suffered a lot from what happened for the other sides of the order and it realized that it will not be able to afford the loss of a pivotal country in the region.

Saudi Arabia encountered that the Egypt's slipping into a civil war or chaos as the other neighboring countries that might extend over a long period of time, the matter that not only would take Cairo completely out of any regional balances and calculations, but also might turn it to be a yard for any regional or international interferences as in the case of both Syria and Iraq. From the point of view of Riyadh this will leave Egypt exposed to any types of threats and risks, a situation which might lead to vast regional chaos and thus the Saudi regime would be the responsible alone for confronting the threats in the region and its consequences.

Moreover, some opinions argue that the Saudi regime has rushed to support the second Egyptian revolution to cut the road in front of the any attempts of appeasement between the Muslim brotherhood and the Irana matter that would really worry the kingdom. While the second factor

is related to the link between the Saudi regime and the Egyptian military on one hand and its relation with the Muslim brotherhood on the other hand. As for the relations with the latter it passed through many phases since the establishment of the organization in 1928, though it has always been described by being suspicious, anticipating and turbulent.

As per the ties between Riyadh and the military institution in Cairo, it is a long standing one that has been extending for more than 42 years during the rule of both former presidents Mubarak and Sadat, throughout this period of time these relations were described by being stable and solid. Moreover, the Saudi regime believed that the Egyptian military will remain the largest, strongest as well as the most organized institution in Egypt. Thus, and for these motives Saudi Arabia chose to side with the Egyptian military against the Muslim brotherhood group.

It is worth noting here that this choice made by Riyadh wasn't really surprising as it was built on a deep political calculations that aimed at supporting the stability of Egypt at this moment, and the military was the only institution capable of implementing this. Yet, this choice didn't take supporting the Muslim brotherhood out of the Saudi equation, but it remained as a less urgent option as Egypt's stability continued as the first priority.

As per the third option, it was the Obama's administration position from the events that took place in Egypt which was characterized by reluctance and weakness a matter that really worried the kingdom of Saudi Arabia about the future of the region. Additionally, what augmented the Saudi concerns was the forging ahead of the current American administration towards the "Asian Pivot" or turning to the pacific ocean and strengthening its relations with those countries and giving them, by giving them the priority in its new strategy over the Middle East region.

In this context, it is worth highlighting that the Saudi regime started communicating with the European powers to find a solution for the

critical situation in Egypt, while it didn't establish the same connections with Washington, as Riyadh didn't expect much from the American administration, especially after its negative experience with it in dealing with the Syrian crisis. Some opinions argue that for Saudi Arabia Obama's administration seems to be hesitant and indecisive, a matter which Riyadh couldn't tolerate as the situation was volatile and progressing so fast.

The Western Point Of View Towards Riyadh's Supporting Position To Egypt:

It was expected that the west especially the United States would show some resentment from the Saudi support to the toppling of the first democratically elected Egyptian president, as what happened in Cairo couldn't be clearly defined by the west at that moment, whether it was a coup or a popular revolution to remove the brotherhood regime. Some American media sources namely the New York Times noticed that the bizarre American position from the developments in Cairo as president Obama and its administration didn't show any immediate response and remained silent. They also didn't hide their wonder towards the differences between Washington and Riyadh over the situation in Egypt.

On the other hand, it was debated from the western media point of view that the main motive behind the Saudi stance from the Egyptian revolutions was the dual fear from the success of democracy in Egypt, on one hand and from the Muslim brotherhood that took the power in Cairo on the other hand. In another words, the concept of democracy itself is the real threat to the Saudi regime and the arrival of an Islamist president from the brotherhood doubled the intensity of these threats, as the vision of Islam from the point of view of the Saudi regime differs than the view of the Muslim brotherhood.

To summarize, there was no clear and solid situation from the part of the united states towards the developments in Egypt, despite the presence of an American law that prevents granting aid except for medicine and food aid to countries or states that witness military coup over

democratically elected governments, yet the American administration and the congress preferred not to raise up this issue.

To wrap up, there was a kind of division in the position of congress in relation to the situation in Egypt. While, in the meantime the American administration suffered from a clear uncertainty and wavering as they were not so content with the step that the Egyptian army has taken, but in same time they couldn't or didn't want to express its wrath by an explicit political situation, and it was only limited to a number of vague declarations by the white house spokesperson .

In this milieu, it is worth underscoring that Obama himself just after the victory of president Morsi in the presidential elections, announced that "Egypt for the United States is neither an ally nor an enemy". it was argued that this ambiguous announcement from the part of an American president about a country as big and important as Egypt, a matter which reflects the disinclination of the American administration's policies towards the Middle East after the Arab spring⁴¹⁰.

From its part, The United Arab Emirates was so quick, in that sense Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan, President of the Emirates, sent a congratulatory telegram to the Chancellor Adly Mansour. They mentioned that his country have followed with appreciation and satisfaction the national consensus witnessed in Egypt, which had a prominent impact in Egypt out of the crisis faced by the peaceful reservation institutions and embody the civilization of ancient Egypt, and strengthen the Arab and international role,"". As the United Arab Emirates submitted a package of financial aid and oil are estimated at one billion dollars, and a loan of \$ 2 billion deposit to the Central Bank .

⁴¹⁰Aftermath the Muslim brotherhood, rebuilding the Egyptian relations with the gulf, Dr. Khaled Aldakhil, ma baad alekhwan, eadet benaa llelelakat almasryia alkhaleygeya in Arabic, Alsiyassa al dawleya, vol: 194, October 2013)

Moreover, The Foreign Ministry of the United Arab Emirates issued a statement praising the greatness of the army of Egypt, who proved again that it represents the fence, protector and the strong shield that ensures that the country remains a state of institutions and law, which embraces all the components of the Egyptian society. It added that UAE followed with satisfaction the latest developments in Egypt, and stressed that the government of UAE is confident that the great people of Egypt is able to overcome the difficult moments passing by them.

As for Kuwait, Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah prince of State of Kuwait praised the Egyptian Armed Forces on the positive and historical role they played in maintaining stability of the country. Also, Kuwait offered assistance estimated at 6 billion dollars, either a deposit at the central bank or oil aid.

From the part of the kingdom of Morocco, it stressed in a communiqué issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, the need to preserve the national unity of Egypt and its people's security, stability and tranquility. The communiqué underscored that the Kingdom of Morocco, followed with concern and attention the recent events in Egypt and stressed the need to preserve the national unity of the country and to achieve the legitimate aspirations of the Egyptian people in the light of the principles of freedom and democracy.

As for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, it expressed its support for what happened in Egypt, through its foreign minister who confirmed his country's respect for the will of the Egyptian people, and that his country is has a deep respect for the Egyptian armed forces. King Abdullah II congratulated the interim president Adly Mansour, the king stressed his absolute keenness to continue to work to enhance the bilateral ties in various fields in the common interest of both peoples.

While the Syrian president Bashar al- Assad underscored that the events that Egypt witnessed is considered as a defeat for political Islam.

Also he emphasized that the groups that make use of the religion for the benefit of its own policy or for the benefit of a certain class without the other will fall anywhere in the world. Moreover, in a statement attributed to Syrian Arab Republic presidency it was highlighted that the army made a great achievement which represented a radical turning point in favor of democracy.

Furthermore, according to a statement that was broadcasted on Syrian television Damascus expressed its deep appreciation of the national popular movement in Egypt, which yielded a major breakthrough, asserting that what happened was a radical turning point involves a strong will to maintain democracy and diversity in the Egyptian society.

The Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, met the steps done by General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi the defense minister at that time with satisfaction. In that context, he was so quick to send a congratulatory telegram to the Chancellor Adly Mansour after being sworn in as head of a transitional Egypt, has applauded the role of the Egyptian army and the people of Egypt in the overthrow of the Muslim Brotherhood President Mohamed Morsi, who had close ties with Hamas group which controls the Gaza Strip⁴¹¹.(

From his part the new prince of state of Qatar, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, sent a congratulatory telegram to the counselor Adly Mansour. Additionally, the Qatari foreign minister mentioned in his declarations that his country will continue to respect the will of Egypt and its people across the spectrum despite the tension between the two countries that not only continued but augmented in a later stage because of Doha's relations with the Muslimbrotherhood, as it has been a major financier of Islamic groups in the Arab world, and has provided billions of dollars in aid to Egypt since the revolution of January 25, 2011 that ended Mubarak's rule.

⁴¹¹ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-23175379>)

As for Iraq, the Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki Congratulated, the Egyptian interim President Adly Mansour, and issued an official statement, expressing the will of his government to stand with the Egyptian people and its readiness to develop relations between the two countries to a higher level. He added that his country is supporting the wise choices of the Egyptian people. In the same time, he affirmed that their confidence in the ability of Egypt and its people to overcome the difficult phase and restoring its role on the regional and international levels is not shaken. He expressed his certainty that the new transitional government in Egypt will move forward to achieve the demands of the Egyptian people and their aspirations.

It should be pointed out here that those countries that have been mentioned above rushed to provide billions of dollars in aid, whether loans or deposits or oil aid. They have had promised after the revolution of January 25th, 2011 to provide financial assistance, as promised Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to provide aid of an estimated amount of \$ 3.75 billion, but they only offered Cairo \$1.75. While the UAE has promised to provide \$ 3 billion in aid in 2011, but suspended this amount until Egypt could reach an agreement with the IMF, as well as the bad relations with the former regime of Muslim brotherhood president Mohamed Morsi.

Although there were many Gulf states and neighboring countries in favor of the decision of the overthrow of Morsi, there was also a number of Arab countries that opposed this step; this could be attributed to the good relations that has been established between these countries upon the arrival of the Muslim Brotherhood to the rule of Egypt, especially with regimes that is known with its Islamic orientation. These regimes succeeded to come into power with the tide of political Islam after the Arab spring, and built close ties with the Muslim brotherhood regime in Cairo. Hence, they described what happened in Egypt as a military coup; and called for the rejection of the move that -in their opinion- would hinder the process of democratic development.

Tunisia was considered as one of the most countries opposing countries to what happened in Egypt, and called it a military coup; as by that time it was governed by the Islamic Renaissance Movement, which represents a faction of the Muslim Brotherhood in Tunisia. Hence, the Tunisian President Moncef Al-Marzouki, mentioned that immediately after the ouster of Morsi that the military intervention is totally unacceptable, called for securing Morsi's physical protection.

In the same context, the Islamic Renaissance, which was leading the government in Tunisia, expressed its rejection to what it described by the "flagrant military coup", and stressed that the legitimacy in Egypt is the only one that is represented by the democratically elected President Mohammed Morsi and no one else. Also, it denounced together with its partner in the rule "Congress Party for the Republic" what it called a military coup in Egypt.

From its part, the Congress for the Republic party condemned this step, and considered that what was done by the Egyptian military leadership is a setback in the path of the Egyptian revolution, and considered it as a trial to re- install the old system. It added that what happened in Egypt is dangerous for path of democracy in the Arab world and it is against the will of the masses and ballot boxes.

At this point it will be worth analyzing the reactions or positions of both Iran and Turkey, who are considered as two big regional powers, each with its goals and its calculations at both the regional and international levels. Hence, the two of them use its regional role as an entry point for a playing a global role far beyond the borders of the region.

There is a kind of unspoken and hidden rivalry between the two countries on the role and prestige in the Middle East, especially in light of the major changes taking place in the region and the world, which are visible and notable in the regional strategy for each of them, in which Egypt after Mubarak formed important part of it. Thus, the competition

between the two countries could be witnessed in different ways and degrees towards Egypt, which is passing through difficult and complicated period, that has limited its ability to restore regional and international role which declined significantly under Mubarak, a matter which made it more vulnerable to external interference in its internal affairs⁴¹².

The Reaction of The Turkish regime:

From its part, Turkey refused the step that was taken by the Egyptian army, that dislodged the Islamist President Mohamed Morsi from power, stressing that this action do not reflect the will of the people and called on Cairo to return to democracy.

In this context, the official statements for each of the Turkish President, Abdullah Gul, Prime Minister at that time Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and also the Foreign Minister at that very moment Ahmet Davutoglu, about the events of June 30 and spun around several points; namely, emphasizing that the ouster of Morsi who came to power through the ballot box by a military coup is considered an setback for democracy and is unacceptable and against the will of the Egyptians.

In doing so, the Turkish system, adopted the position of the Muslim Brotherhood, and some of the forces and Islamic parties sympathetic with them, which means ignoring the fact that huge popular crowds that came out on June 30, demanding the departure of the President. They underscored that the Change of the president of Egypt did not come as a result of popular will and was not in line with the change of law and democracy, because in all democratic countries elections are the only way to get into power and it is unacceptable for a government, which

⁴¹² Dr.Hassanein Tawfik Ibrahim, Divergent bets, a reading in the Iranian and Turkish positions towards the 30th of June, al rahnat al motabinah ,keraa fi al mowkefen al torki wa al irani tegah 30 uonio, Al syiassa al dawleya, the internatonal politics, al ahram center for political and strategic studies, October 2013,

has come to power through the ballot box, to be toppled through illicit means and, even more, a military coup.

Turkish officials also called for a return to democracy, which means the return of President Morsi, a matter which reflects the indifference of the Turkish authorities towards the new road map of Egypt's future that have been announced immediately after the toppling of Morsi. Furthermore, the Turkish officials did not stop at the point of describing what happened in Egypt as a military coup, but also the current president and the ex-Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, claimed that Israel was behind the army to isolate President Morsi, and they coordinate with the new authorities in Egypt.

This declaration involved a serious affront to the Egyptian people and the national army, and it was rejected by both Egypt and Israel, while the interesting observation to be considered is that Washington has criticized him publicly, describing it as hostile, wrong and baseless, a matter which prompted the Turkish prime minister and foreign minister to reject the conduct of public criticism of their country by the ally as Washington.

There are several factors, as well as internal and external calculations that might give an explanation to the sharp position taken by the Turkish authorities towards the events of June 30th and its consequences. The leaders of Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party, are obsessed with military coups experience in their country. Therefore, they have fears from the idea of returning of the Turkish military to exercise a political role as what happened in the past.

These fears augmented in light of the recurrence of similar mass popular demonstrations in Taksim Square in the heart of Istanbul that could be easily supported by the Turkish army as what happened in Egypt. In other words, the Justice and Development Party government does not want the current of political change, through the popular movements to

move to their country and to be backed by the army. It is worth mentioning here that the Justice and Development Party government had been conducted in previous periods some constitutional and legal amendments, aimed at preventing the Turkish army to return to the political arena again under any constitutional and legal justifications.

Moreover, The Brotherhood experience failure in the rule of Egypt will cast a negative shadow over the prospects for the success of the Muslim Brotherhood in any other Arab country, which is considered as a negative yield for the Turkish model promoted by the Justice and Development Party leaders. Thus, the party's experience in government is fostered as a model of Islamic rule that must be followed in some Arab countries, especially that it embodies the compatibility between Islam and democracy, and efficiency in the management of state affairs, as well as economic and social achievements of concrete.

In addition to the foregoing, the exclusion of President Morsi from power in Egypt has thwarted the ambitions of the ruling Justice and Development Party leaders in Turkey play a leading role in the Middle East over many groundworks, most notably, the strong Islamist parties that took the reins of power in Arab countries such as Egypt, Tunisia. Hence, the Brotherhood's failure to rule Egypt, and the exclusion of Morsi from power, represented a strategic loss for Turkey.

While, the Turkish position has been marked by sharp clarity and continuity, as already mentioned, the position of Tehran could be marked by a state of fluctuation and reluctance, since the eruption of the 30th of June revolution, as the Iranian government was keen enough not to raise any disagreements with the new power in Egypt. Also, it is noted that the Iranian Foreign Ministry was more involved in the expression of the official political stance of Iran towards the developments in Egypt, through the statements of the foreign minister, and the official spokesman of the ministry.

Tehran expressed its concern about the escalation of violence in Egypt, and stressed the need to listen to the voice of the people, and to respond to their legitimate demands in order to maintain Egypt's security and stability. It also expressed its confidence in the national Egyptian army, and demanded that the Egyptians for vigilance and caution from the plans and foreign plots.

Following the overthrow of President Morsi, Tehran criticized this step, mentioning that it is not good for the democracy and that the intervention of the military in politics to change the governments is an unacceptable work. Also, it asked the supporters of President Morsi to continue their efforts in order to return him to power. In addition, the Islamic republic of Iran issued a statement by the foreign ministry stated that the resistant nation of Egypt will protect its independence and greatness from foreign and enemy opportunism during the difficult conditions that follow. It added that Tehran emphasizes the need to fulfil the legitimate demands of the Egyptian people and expressed its hope that developments will provide an atmosphere to meet their needs.

There are several factors ruled the Iranian position towards the events of June 30 and its aftermath, among them: the arrival of reformist candidate, Hassan Rowhani, to power in Iran, as it is well known for the Iranian reformists that they show some degree of flexibility and openness, as well as an amount of pragmatism, besides their avoidance for taking entrenched positions, compared to the conservatives. Additionally, Tehran's bets on the ability of Morsi's regime to normalize relations between the two countries, and coordination on regional issues, were not in place.

In this context, some opinions argued that Tehran has bet that President Morsi, who belongs to the Muslim Brotherhood will pave the way for strengthening relations between the two countries, and it will take a harder line towards Israel stance, that could aggregate to a cancellation with a peace treaty, and the formation of a strong front with Iran in this

regard. However, the Morsi regime policies and practices confirmed that Iran's bet was not really accurate, since Morsi's policy toward Israel didn't differ from his predecessor's policy.

And even more, it adopted a position that is totally in contrary to the Iranian attitude toward the Syrian regime, where he called for the departure of the Syrian president Bashar Al- Assad, not only but the matter extended to severing the Egyptian relations with Damascus. Also, he highlighted publicly his readiness to provide support and assistance to the Syrian opposition, as mentioned in details previously, and consequently the Egyptian position became consistent with Washington's position in this regard.

The last factor in the analysis of the Iranian authorities position from the ouster of Morsi, and its keenness to avoid taking strong positions towards the new authorities in Egypt was in part motivated by a desire to keep the door open to prospects of the resumption of relations between the two countries, especially in light of the major challenges facing Iran, and the state of relative isolation experienced at the international level, not to mention the developments and complications associated with the Syrian crisis.

In this context, the volatility that has characterized the Iranian position of events June 30th of June and its consequences that ended with the ouster of Morsi could be understood, compared to the Turkish position, where Tehran was keen on a truce with Cairo.

In summary, it is likely that the change of the regime in Egypt, and its consequences will lead to the recession of the Turkish role in the region in the short and medium term at least, as the Islamist parties opportunities to take the reins of power in other Arab countries became very difficult, especially after the failure of the parent group in Egypt. Also, the clear bias of Ankara to support the Islamist groups and parties, on the expense of other political currents in many Arab countries, will lead

to the decline of its role as an acceptable mediator able to contribute to the resolution of conflicts in the Middle East region, and achieve national reconciliation. In addition, the loss of Turkey, to an important Arab state in the weight of Egypt will cast a negative impact on its regional strategy, especially in light of changing alliances in the region.

As for Iran, the more likely it will be negatively impacted also by the change of the regime in Egypt, due to the changing map of alliances in the region. In return for the position of Turkey, and to some extent Iran, towards the developments in Egypt, the emergence of the role of other countries as Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf cooperation Council countries (except Qatar) and Jordan to support the new power in Egypt, has been very noticeable. Thus, their support was far beyond words, at all levels, either economically and financially as in the case of the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait who pledged big amounts of aid as mentioned before. In this context, some opinions argue that it is unlikely that the Arab moderation axis might be revived in one form or another.

However, If the Egyptian - Turkish relations will remain captive for some time to Turkey's aggressive position towards the events of June 30th, and the process of isolating President Morsi, the Egyptian - Iranian relations will be affected, to one degree or another, especially with its relation with important regional files linked to the issue of security of the Gulf, and Iran's interference in the internal affairs of the Gulf countries. Thus, these relations will be definitely be affected in light of the qualitative leap witnessed by these countries relations with Egypt, after the removal of Morsi from power. All of this and the other indicates that the future of Egyptian - Iranian relations will depend in significant part on the limits of change in Iranian foreign policy towards Egypt after Morsi, as well as to a number of Arab issues and the central files.

To sum up, the internal situation in Egypt will keep the main determinant of foreign relations, including relations with both Turkey and

Iran. Thus, Restoring security and security in Egypt, and move steadily on the path of democracy, development and social justice, will strengthen its ability to restore regional and international role, and build regional and international relations on the basis of equality, safeguard national independence and to achieve national interests.

On the side of the United States, and as mentioned before that the unprecedented demonstrations of the June 30th, and the size of the broad popular rejection expressed by the masses against the Muslim Brotherhood and their President Mohamed Morsi, represented a surprise to many Western analysts, specifically the Americans, and the decision-making circles.

Some opinions argue that the western especially the American research centers have always considered that political Islam is the representative of the mood of the main stream of the peoples in the Arab region; a matter which prompted the US administration to adopt a strategy to support "moderate" political Islam groups, -from the western point of view-after the revolutions of the Arab Spring; as that these groups are the key to political stability and stand for the orientation of the masses in those countries, as well as its capability to mobilize the crowds and its effect on the public opinion.

Therefore, the US administration had a great shock when the popular rejection of the Muslim Brotherhood and its president, who was elected only one year before, a matter which represented a big surprise that confused the American position, especially with their belief that the Muslim Brotherhood and the political Islam in general are the only factions capable of gathering the huge crowds as explained before.

Thus, the U.S. reactions towards the June 30th events were variable, both in their acceptance of the reality of the demonstrations or in dealing with it. On one hand, the official U.S. institutions, namely, the White House, Congress, and Pentagon, expressed its reservation in the first

moments after Sisi's statement in which he gave president Morsi a deadline 48 hours to react to the streets demands, and these institutions Referred to earlier expressed their deep concern about the process of democratic transition.

However, few days later, and after Sisi's second statement in which he declared disruption of the constitution and assumed Adly Mansour the head of the constitutional court as interim president of the country. Thus, and in that context, president Obama issued a statement on the situation in Egypt, highlighting that the United States since the revolution of January 25th, 2011 has been supporting the basic principles in Egypt, only the principles, neither persons nor parties, also he expressed concern over the army's decision to isolate Morsi and suspending the Constitution, and demanded the Egyptian military to speed up the restoration of authority back to a democratically elected civilian government as soon as possible through an inclusive and transparent process, and to avoid any arbitrary arrests of President Morsi and his supporters.

At the same time, Obama announced that he ordered a review of US aid to Egypt in light of US laws in the light of new conditions. Thus, he uttered that according to the developments that Egypt witnesses, he directed all the relevant departments and agencies to review the implications under US law for assistance to the Government of Egypt. Also, he went furthermore when he decided to cancel the biannual bright star military exercises which was supposed to be held in September of the same year. Additionally, he stressed that the voices of all those who have protested peacefully must be heard, including those who welcomed developments and those who have supported President Morsi⁴¹³.

October 2013, Obama suspends delivery of F16 fighter jets, M1A1 tank kits, Harpoon missiles and Apache helicopters. Their delivery,

⁴¹³<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2013/08/15/will-canceling-u-s-egypt-military-exercises-do-anything-probably-not/>, Max fisher)

the US said, was contingent on “credible progress toward an inclusive, democratically elected civilian government through free and fair elections.” The US said it would continue to “provide parts for US-origin military equipment as well as military training and education.”

Though, the Congress position was different from the White House position, and the Foreign Affairs Committee in Congress issued a statement on the situation in Egypt, on behalf of both the committee's Republican chairman and one of its Democrat member's in the committee, which means that the statement expresses the point of view of both parties. The statement considered that the Muslim Brotherhood failed to understand what real democracy is, and demanded the army and transitional government demonstrate their intention to perform a true democratic transition in the country. In the same time, it stresses the importance of the involvement of a wide range of people in the process of writing the new constitution, also the statement called all political factions in Egypt to renounce violence.

However, the statement did not consider what happened in Egypt as a coup, and considered it as a democratic development in the positive direction. Moreover, the statement did not mention something about stopping or reviewing the aid, and this is considered as the first sign of a change in the American attitude toward the isolation of President Morsi.

During the following days, the US administration's position began to inch gradually, and appeared to accept the new situation in Egypt. In a statement issued by the White House about a meeting between U.S. President and members of the National Security Council, Washington stressed that it rejects all the allegations about its backing to any party or person in the crisis in Egypt.

In addition, it underscored that it just stand with the Egyptian people and their objectives, which they have been trying to achieve since the January 25th revolution. It called on the political forces to sit down and

negotiate and start a political process and away from violence. This was the same position confirmed by the State Department spokesperson, who announced that the assessment of the situation in Egypt whether it is a coup or not, and the impact of this step on the assistance given to Cairo will take time out from the U.S. administration.

On the other hand, the Deputy U.S. Secretary of State arrived in Egypt in the first visit by a US official, since Morsi's insulation. During this visit, he stressed that he is not carrying American solutions, and did not come to advise anyone, or to impose an American model of democracy on Egypt. He ruled out that Egypt would follow Syria on the path towards civil war, demanding at the same time the release of detained political leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood's group so that a real dialogue about the future would be started as soon as possible.

The visit and the statements of Burns represented a turning point in the dealing of the parties of the political process with the United States. They represented a shock for the Muslim Brotherhood and the supporters of the isolated President, as they have been counting heavily on the US administration position; as the United States is considered the only international player that the group has been betting on until the last breath.

In the aftermath of all these movements a statement, was issued by secretary of state John Kerry, that managed to put an end to the controversy surrounding the characterization of what happened on June 30th, and considering it as a coup or not. Kerry emphasized that it is difficult to describe what happened as a coup; as the Egyptian army spared the country a civil war.

In summary, some opinions argue that president Obama tried to hold the stick from the middle, in a trial to preserve or maintain the numerous and intersecting American interests both in Egypt and the Middle East region. However, and regardless of these efforts the

democratic American administration was heavily criticized by all parties of not being able to manage or deal with crisis in Egypt.

The American president has been so keen not to characterize or describe what happened in Egypt as a "military coup", to avoid being embarrassed before his administration so as not to be obliged in accordance with US laws to cut aid. Moreover, the cancellation of the Egyptian –American military exercises was a symbolic move, because the internal conditions in Egypt was not correctly prepared that's why it was almost going to be called off under any circumstances. However, his critics stressed that what Obama did doesn't exceed an expression of position that doesn't live up to be level of policy⁴¹⁴.

The real dilemma that faced Obama's administration was the loss of its influence that enables the United States to affect either positively or negatively the course of events and developments in the Egyptian crisis. This could be attributed to its welcoming position to the Muslim Brotherhood president, since he came to power, a matter that created a state of coldness in the relations not only with Egypt but also with the Gulf countries namely, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Because of this Obama appeared with the image of the person lacking to the power of influence, to the extent that some opinions argued that this is the first time in more 30 years American hegemony in the region seems to be fading out⁴¹⁵.

A Precise Examination Of The Muslim Brotherhood Policy During One Year:

The Egyptian government during the one year has pursued external alignments mainly as a way to deal with domestic threats since it was functioning in an unstable domestic environment. Instead of advocating an international order which is based on the Arab and Islamic

⁴¹⁴ Waiting for Decisiveness, interactions inside the US with the change of power in Egypt, regionalcenter for strategic studies, fi entzar al hasm, tafolat aldakhel alamericy maa taghieer al solta fi masr ,karen abo elkheir, august 27th, 2013)

⁴¹⁵ Jeffery Kemp, Obama and Egypt, the reality and hard choices, alittihad newspaper, in Arabic Obama wa masr, alwakee wa alkhyarat al saaba, August, 23rd, 2013)

unity and solidarity, in the same way as the Brotherhood's ideology asserts, former president Morsi has developed warmer relations with a various array of actors-involving Turkey, Iran, and Sudan, as well as Hamas organization-while maintaining its key relations with Washington and preserving diplomatic channels with Tel- Aviv.

The Muslim Brotherhood government's policies and actions towards both Israel and Hamas, specifically, contradict the group's deeply-held ideological persuasions. In spite of the Brotherhood's pledge to support the Palestinian resistance against Israel, yet, Morsi's government mediated a ceasefire between both Israel and Hamas in November 2012, and refrained from the complete opening of the Rafah border crossing between Egypt and Gaza, also it coordinated counterterrorism activities with Israeli military forces in the Sinai.

Although Morsi's government envisaged ideological ideas and objectives, yet Egypt's continuing domestic defies critically constrained foreign policy of his government's choices and promoted the value of alignment decisions. In reality, some opinions contend that the Egyptian government during the brotherhood era took up external alliances chiefly to secure and strengthen its internal political power. In the midst of the political, institutional and economic confronts to regime security, these alignments could have helped to alleviate burdens facing the regime.

Final Analysis of the one year of Muslim Brotherhood rule:

To recapitulate, it is worth highlighting that in general the foreign policy conduct of revolutionary or post-revolutionary states has grasped inadequate and not enough attentiveness from most of the international relations scholars. Hence, some of them as Fred Halliday and Stephen Walt, whose writings managed to provide the most respectable and significant contributions to the existing literature, and it also helped to spot the foreign policies of revolutionary states as intrinsically aggressive and belligerent.

At the moment that Halliday debates that they induce confrontation either inadvertently or intentionally to generate a contagion impacts in neighboring countries, Walt tries to conjoin the impulsiveness and the mysterious intentions of revolutionary nations with conflict and war⁴¹⁶. Diverging dramatically from the anticipations of both scholars Walt and Halliday's, the post-revolutionary Egypt has striven for integration whilst tirelessly precluding clashes with another powers.

As of June 2012, the Muslim Brotherhood government has directed the Egyptian foreign policy objectives towards furthering the country's national interests ,but, in same time without alienating donors, partners, allies, as well as the internal political circles. Thus, the foreign policy initiatives of the former president Morsi's mirrored the rivaling welfares of various constituencies rather than the ideological benefits and interests of the Muslim Brotherhood group.

The Morsi government's forthright declaration of its commitment towards the international treaties and pledges, as well as its obvious abandonment of any ideological or revolutionary aspirations and dreams, all these steps aimed predominantly to calm Egypt's partners and promote deeper relations particularly with the Gulf monarchies. Moreover, President Morsi's proposal about Syria's quartet striven for enhancing the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states' perception of Egypt's new Islamic government from one side, and to gain the domestic political support on the other side.

Similarly, his decision to curb Cairo's relations with Tehran aimed to alleviate the fears of both the GCC states and Egypt's Salafists. In that context, it is worth mentioning that the quartet for Syria, was a proposal that has been suggested by Egyptian former president Morsi, aiming at gathering all the major supporters of the Syrian rebellion namely Saudi Arabia and Turkey, as well as Egypt itself and Iran, which is

⁴¹⁶[http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/39026/1/Halliday's%20revenge%0\(LSERO\).pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/39026/1/Halliday's%20revenge%0(LSERO).pdf).

considered as the biggest regional ally of Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad⁴¹⁷.

Ultimately, the Muslim brotherhood government's position towards Israel and Hamas reflects the victory of pragmatism perspective in Egypt's post-revolutionary foreign policy. Instead of supporting the Palestinian resistance and breaking the relations with Tel- Aviv, the Egyptian government has maintained Camp David agreement, and facilitated a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas. Generally, the Morsi government has constantly given precedence to building alignments, and implementing national security objectives at the expense of its ideological considerations.

Constrains Of The One-Year Rule Of The Muslim Brotherhood Regime In Egypt:

- Role of the Diminutive Time frame and lack of experience:

The Egyptian government has been treated in this research as a "rational" actor whose leaders are capable of planning policies and implementing decisions based on objective assessments of pressures, jeopardies, as well as other external insights. However, the decision-making process is not thought through at all times and is often liable to fault and mistake. Given that the Muslim Brotherhood has never been in power throughout their long history since the group founding in 1928, it could be easily noticed that the inexperience and political naiveté have - without any doubts-negatively impacted the foreign policy decision-making process under the Islamic regime.

Moreover, the relationships between the different institutions during the one year rule of the Muslim brotherhood suffered from a kind of uncertainty and reluctance, also the jurisdictions were every so often

⁴¹⁷<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/egypt-hosts-summit-of-new-quartet-on-syria-hoping-to-persuade-iran-to-change-stance/>

indeterminate and imprecise a matter which augmented the potential for miscommunication between Egypt's several foreign policy actors.

Therefore, it is worth mentioning that the one year of former president Morsi in power witnessed an immense lack of coordination and synchronization among the different institutions in the country, as well as overlapping realms of authority of the Presidency, Ministry of Foreign affairs, and intelligence apparatuses, a matter which initiated a status of confusion that have sent sort of mixed messages to external powers.

Likewise, since Mohamed Morsi's inauguration as Egypt's first democratically-elected president, the political system of the country remained in a status of agitation and unstable transition, some of the Egyptian institutions were in a delicate and vulnerable state, by the effect of consecutive revolutions and then by the process of empowerment in the Egyptian bureaucracy, (or "Ikhwanisation") in Arabic, that took place through bestowing posts to Muslim brotherhood members or affiliates. Besides, the looming threat of the deterioration of the economic situation, especially with the re-emergence of the street demonstrations and marches that have laid exorbitant pressure on the new regime at that time. Confronted with all these pressuring defies, the Morsi government failed either to make a dramatic re-orientation of the Egyptian foreign policy or to embark on ideologically driven initiatives.

The Effect of the fall over of The Muslim Brotherhood On The Political Islam Forces:

The fall of the Muslim brotherhood regime in Egypt represented a painful hit not only to the future of the political Islam movements but also to the main ideology of these forces, which depend on the use of religious discourse as a base for its political activity. Not to mention the several mistakes and errors that the Muslim brotherhood committed during its one year of rule in Egypt, it could be easily noted that there is a dominant general impression that have widely spread among many sectors of the Egyptian society, that the political materialization of the

Muslim brotherhood as well as all the political Islam forces are is so weak and lacking the ability to take the full control of the power in any country.

Moreover, the other political Islam forces namely the Salafists with their political party known as "the light" or in Arabic "Al Nour" tried to separate or isolate itself from the Muslim brotherhood and appear with a different image, yet its ability to overcome the brotherhood model and to present a new alternative example for the political Islam totally failed, as it on the contrary of the brotherhood organization, it adopted a more conservative and traditional doctrine, regardless of its trials to be seen as pragmatic as possible.

Furthermore, these political Islam forces, such as the Salafists, are still insisting on mixing up their religious role with the political one, a matter which predicts that their destiny would definitely be the same as the fate of the Muslim brotherhood. Likewise, most of these forces have lost their leverage in the in a country like Egypt, as they suffering from an extremely difficult social and political situation not only because of the loss of power but also as a result of the image that has portrayed in the minds about their political capabilities and efficiency.

Hence, it is expected that the political Islam forces would suffer a lot from the removal of the Muslim brotherhood from power in Egypt, yet the major challenge facing these forces would remain the possibility of pulling out itself away from the Muslim brotherhood in the minds of Egyptian people. After the break out of the 25th of January revolution all the political Islam forces almost got united together and they had been looked at as the main supporter for the Muslim brotherhood, this blending is considered as an unprecedented one, because it has never been preceded by any type of ideological reviews or revisions.

The arrival of Morsi to power represented a turning point in the long journey of the Islamists, who, and for the first time in their history, took the leadership in a regional power as Egypt, they became the decision

makers and the rulers after decades of oppression and secret work. Moreover, some opinions believed that after taking the rule in Egypt the Muslim brotherhood would make extra efforts to moderate the discourse of the conservative Islamic powers namely the Salafists and the ex-jihadists, yet and surprisingly the opposite has happened as the Muslim brotherhood was trapped in the by the ideological and religious blackmailing of all the other conservative forces.

All this happened during the peak of the political and religious polarization that was taking place in the society at that point of time, while the Muslim brotherhood failed to evade this state of polarization and it got closer to these conservative forces. In that sense some scholars argue that the changes or the transformations of the religious discourse of the Muslim brotherhood group already started long time before the 25th of January 2011 revolution⁴¹⁸

During the one year of the Muslim brotherhood in power president Morsi sought to appease with the different Islamic forces or powers either because of the similarity in the orientations and ideology or because of his need for their help and support. This policy aimed at achieving some equilibrium with the other opposing forces in the society. However, this policy led to nothing but increasing and widening the gap with the other secular and civil forces which turned to be a complete hatred till the ouster of Morsi.

This strong relationship that was established between the Muslim brotherhood regime and the more conservative or radical Islamist powers could be easily spotted in their cooperation and coordination to pass the 2012 constitution, through a deal between the regime and those forces to adopt that it at any price, on the expense of achieving political and social consensus about it. Yet, the link between the two sides reached its peak

⁴¹⁸ Hossam tamam, the Salafism of the Muslim brotherhood the erosion of the brotherhood ideas and the rising of the Salafism inside the muslim brotherhood group, in Arabic, tasalof al ikhwan, taakol al otrohah al ikwanya wa seoud al salafya fi gamaeet al ikhwan al moslmeen, marased 1, bibliotheca Alexandria 2010).

with the full backing of the constitutional decree that Morsi issued in November 2012 , this step was followed by the launch of an alliance between them that continued till the removal of Morsi from power, a matter which negatively affected the traditional discourse of the Muslim brotherhood and their image as a moderate Islamic movement.

The future of the Muslim brotherhood and the political Islam:

There is no doubt that the Muslim brotherhood after the failure of their experience in Egypt is passing through one of the most difficult exams in its long path, since the fifties of the past century when the group was totally banned and hundreds of its members and leaders were arrested in 1954, which resulted in their complete exclusion from the political scene in Egypt for more than two decades, a period well known in the literature of the group as the "crisis" period. Yet, the predicament this time seems to be more aggressive, not only because of their removal from power just after one year but because of the growing hostility that face them from all the state institutions and the majority of the Egyptian society, not to mention the unprecedented negative media reports and comments about the brotherhood since the last decade.

Immediately after the 30th of June some opinions argued that the Muslim brotherhood would not vanish even after its loss of power in the Egypt, claiming that it is a big and old organization with deep roots in the Egyptian society and couldn't be easily defeated or dismantled by the security repression, this argument was based upon the previous experiences with the Muslim brotherhood group as any ideological group who has always been able to overcome its problems through its internal consolidation to face the severe exclusion and repression. Yet, this didn't not really happen this time because of the violence that was committed by the brotherhood members a matter which pushed the Egyptian government to ban the group once again in 2013 and dismantle its institutions and organizations until this moment of writing these lines.

However, two scenarios were put forward by some scholars concerning the future of the Muslim brotherhood group, it was argued that this future depends on two main factors which are, the readiness of the Egyptian state to deal with them in such a realistic way, not through the security tools, while the other factor is related to the ability of the Muslim brotherhood to accept the conditional inclusiveness in the political process again. As for the first factor, it would be divided into two main currents, one called for the importance of the exclusion of the Muslim brotherhood from the society.

While, the other direction or current called for the conditional inclusiveness of the group in society, arguing that it is unrealistic and inevitable to exclude the an deeply rooted organization as the Muslim brotherhood from the political process in Egypt, yet their blending in the society would have been done under two main circumstances, Firstly, dismantling the group or transforming it to be a civil organization that plays a social role throughout the country and completely away from politics. Secondly, the freedom and justice party (FJP), quit or abandon its religious ideology and to accept the rules of the political scene in Egypt.

As for the readiness of the Muslim brotherhood to deal realistically with the new political scene in Egypt after their loss of power, and its acceptance for the unconditional inclusiveness, this means firstly, they would confess the strategic mistakes they committed, either because of their lack of experience or the miscalculations , secondly the Muslim brotherhood ought to revise its political and ideological discourse. This discourse over the one year of the ruling of the Muslim brotherhood has represented a real problem for the group especially that it had a tendency towards cultural and religious conservation, a policy which has been adopted by group to gain the support of thre Salafists and to augment its popularity among its followers. Moreover, the future of the group as argued would have been changed with the emergence of new leadership or

reformist movement after this last crisis, to counter the dominating role of the conservative movement in the group in the decision making process⁴¹⁹.

To summarize, the 30th of June revolution represented a historical defining moment in the history of the Muslim brotherhood as it was revealing for the glitches in the intellectual and institutional structure of the group, either it make a comprehensive review for its ideas and discourse through its highbrow members who were not involved in violence to establish a new organization or a group on the debris of the old one or it would end up out of history like other ideological and religious groups throughout the history.

⁴¹⁹ Turning point, the fall of the Muslim brotherhood and the future of politicalIslam, Dr. Khalil al enani, in Arabic, noktett tahawol: seqout hokm Al ekhwan wa mostaqbal al islam al siyasy, Al siyassa al dawleyia, vol. 194, October 2014,)

CHAPTER 7

THE THIRD REPUBLIC UNDER PRESIDENT AL-SISI

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AL-SISI:

Re-Orientation of the Egyptian Foreign Policy:

With the arrival of the current president Abdel- Fattah Al Sisi, to the power in Egypt, the international opinion was keen and curious to be more acquainted with his policies either domestically or externally. Aiming at determining the Egyptian orientation in this critical period that face not only Egypt, but also the whole Middle East region, specifically with the changes taking place in it and the threats that endanger it.

Subsequently, all these influences are really important to tackle specially that President Sisi, inherited a heavy responsibility of his predecessor Morsi politically and economically⁴²⁰.

The determinates controlling or directing the Egyptian foreign policy in the post 30th of June era, included some important principles that represents a development for the foreign policy after the 25th of January revolution a matter which represents a complete turnover of his predecessor Morsi and maybe of Mubarak himself. The first principal depends on giving up presenting any kind of even minimal concessions to any external forces or powers in relation to the Egyptian domestic policy that became an uncrossable line that nobody can interfere in for any reason. Even if such intervention was conditioned with providing aid or returning back some military parts that has been sent for maintenance in one of the big powers.

⁴²⁰ Foreign policy during sisi, regional center for strategic studies, Ambassador Azmi Khalifa, march 2015, in Arabic, al syiassa al kharegia fi ahd al sisi

While, the second principal focuses on achieving more balance in the Egyptian foreign policy which means that Cairo's strategic relations with Washington doesn't mean neglecting the relations with the other world powers as, Russia and China. However, the third determinant highlights that tackling the terrorism should be characterized by inclusiveness which stress the importance of confronting this phenomenon in all its forms and working on cutting all its supply and financing sources, as well as defying all the terrorist organizations not only some of them, either domestically and on the borders.

In addition to the refusal of the participation of groups and factions that might be seen by certain people as representatives of moderate political Islam in the rule of many countries. On the other hand, the fourth and fifth factors concentrate on dealing with national security threats and paying more attention to revitalizing the Arab national security to support Egypt in its confrontation with the terrorism in Sahel And Sahara area (Coast and Desert). Furthermore, the declarations of President Al-Sisi reflect implicitly a very important orientation indicating that the national security of individual Arab countries will only be achieved in the framework of the regional Arab national security.

This concept is considered a relatively new one in the field of security studies, which emphasis that the perception of the national security of the states has been shifted from the national level to a much higher level, which is the regional level especially. in the context of the re-arrangement of security priorities to include, humanitarian security, national security and regional security which are considered the three levels of a state responsibility in a direct manner, before moving on to the international security level which is considered the responsibility of the united nations.

The study of the foreign policy will not be completed without making a comprehensive evaluation for policy's pillars as realizing the sources of threats, policies and orientation for especially that Egypt is

passing through after the June 30th revolution. Thus, it is expected that these pillars will include core or radical modifications, in relation to the orientation and policies.

On the level of realizing these different sources of threats, it is worth mentioning that there is a noticeable perception or a realization of the national security threats. Yet, on the level of the policies implemented, it could be realized from the external visits of President Sisi since he came to power, it should be noticed that these visits, go along with the new orientations. For instance, due to the dangerous and critical situation in Libya, President Sisi visited both Italy and Algeria to coordinate the efforts to combat the threats of the Islamic terrorist organizations in Africa. Once more, He visited France and Algeria to send a clear message about Egypt's foreign policy orientation after the revolution, in addition to his regular visits to the United Nations in New York during its annual General Assembly session to lay emphasis on this orientation in fighting terrorism⁴²¹.

Priorities of the Egyptian Regime Post June 30th Revolution:

On assuming office in June 2014, after the end of the interim government president Al-Sisi thought about resetting and reshaping the country's foreign policy. In doing this important step he embarked on taking many steps both domestically and externally to reinforce Egypt's long-standing foreign policy strengths, combining them with greater flexibility and pragmatism, while taking into consideration -in the mean time- the mounting impact of public opinion. The new Egyptian regime on the foreign policy level thought about increasing and broadening the country's global options, as Egypt has a longstanding history of tackling the varying configuration of the international system in a way that enhances its own interests.

⁴²¹ Sisi talks counterterrorism at UN Security Council,' Mada Masr, September 24, 2014, <http://www.madamasr.com/news/sisi-talks-counter-terrorism-un-general-assembly>)

On the foreign policy level, it is worth to mention that Sisi when came to power has reassured Israel over his commitment to the 1979 peace treaty between Cairo and Tel-Aviv, especially with the current security challenges in the Sinai peninsula. In this context, it is important to note that Egypt has deployed military troops close to the border with Israel, in a technical breach of the treaty, a matter which was approved by Israel to secure its national interest from the jihadist groups in Sinai⁴²². Underpinning Tel-Aviv confidence in Sisi is his attitude towards Hamas, whose close relationship with Morsi and the muslim Brotherhood was a source of constant Israeli unease.

In addition, President Al-Sisi has sought to engage constructively with Ethiopia and the other upstream Nile countries to reach an agreeable solution to the dilemma of sharing the river's water resources. The 1959 Nile Water Agreement between the Sudan and Egypt entitles the latter to 55.5 billion cubic meters of the annual flow of the Nile; though, the development projects upstream, especially Ethiopia's Renaissance Dam project, threaten this agreement. Cairo is understanding and considerate to Ethiopia's argument that such projects are crucial for the growth of its economy, but in the meantime it will not put up with any agreement that would negatively affect its current share of the waters. In this respect, Ethiopia's declaration in September 2014 that the dam is intended for power generation rather than irrigation may provide hope that Sisi can secure agreement in the future⁴²³.

More recently, the rise of Islamic state (ISIS) in Syria and Iraq has brought Egypt and the West closer again as the U.S. endeavored to establish an international and regional coalition to launch a war against the joint terrorist enemy. From its part, Cairo at a certain point agreed to join the alliance, if it would not focus exclusively on combating Islamic state in

⁴²² (<http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Israel-okays-Egypt-request-to-deploy-more-military-forces-in-Sinai-380970>)

⁴²³ Sisi's reformed foreign policy could restore Egypt as major regional power, 4 June 2015. projects21.com/

Iraq and Levant (ISIL), or ISIS -as mentioned in some narratives-, but would work to fight against other terrorist organizations in the whole region as well.

On the other hand, and owing to his awareness that the country's domestic opportunities are closely coupled with its international reputation, the current Egyptian regime had to prioritize stabilizing the Egyptian economy in an endeavor to re-adjust the perception of the foreign investors and tourists towards the country economic and financial situation. In this context, he has been helped by the substantial aid provided by Saudi Arabia and the UAE as well as Kuwait, to restore some of the confidence that has been deteriorated by the effect of the economic crisis.

Moreover, the new Egyptian regime managed to launch a series of mega infrastructure projects, for instance, the North Coast development project to increase Mediterranean tourism; the one and half million acres land reclamation project, and the nuclear project with the Russia, as well as the new Suez Canal project, which is considered the most important infrastructure plan in the country. Egyptians succeeded in one year in completing the initial step for developing the Suez Canal region, through the drilling of a new channel with a length of 35 kilometers, with the deepening and expansion of the original canal areas up to 72 kilometers, as well as updating and adding advanced equipment in all sectors of the canal. The new canal helps in the direct non-stop transit of 45 vessels in both directions, and the transit of 97 ships per day, which increases canal revenues by 259% in 2023 to be 13.226 billion dollars compared to the current revenue of \$ 5.3 billion, resulting in a direct positive impact on Egypt's hard currency income. The project reduces the waiting time for ships to be 3 hours instead of 8 to 11 hours, which reduces the cost for ship owners, as well as raising the value of the Suez Canal, contributing to the

increased demand for the use of the canal as a major international waterway⁴²⁴.

The project goes in parallel with the Suez Canal Area Development axis Plan, as it will make it the route of choice for ship owners all over the world, putting any alternative routes out of competition. In addition, The project will have quite a positive impact on the Egyptian national income, as it will increase the hard currency revenues and provide more job opportunities, as well as developing new urban communities. The project provides a million jobs upon the completion of its initial phases, which is a leap forward for the national economy, where economists expect project revenue to reach \$ 100 billion annually upon its completion. This project will play a major role in the re-urbanization and the geographic distribution of the population through integrated urban projects aimed at reclamation and cultivation of about 4 million acres⁴²⁵.

What is more, Repairing the country's image in the international arena is a priority of Sisi's foreign policy as he wanted to change the perception of the world towards Egypt, and export a new image of the country not as a religiously oriented revolutionary state, but as a civic, democratizing, and reforming nation. An important step in this direction is for Cairo to conclude an agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which could be considered as a vote of confidence in the country's capabilities a matter that would attract foreign investors and tourists back to the country⁽⁴²⁶⁾.

Likewise, there is an important element of this endeavor to restore the country's image, which is the alteration in the public discourse that Sisi has pioneered. Over the past six decades, this discourse in Egypt has been focused on two main themes, the management of poverty and the

⁴²⁴<https://www.suezcanal.gov.eg/sc.aspx?show=69>.

⁴²⁵<http://www.sczone.eg/english/aboutsczone/Pages/factsandnumbers.aspx>)

⁴²⁶ [https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2016/08/11/09/49/pr16375-Egypt-IMF-Reaches-Staff-Level-Agreement-on-a-Three-Year-US\\$12-Billion-Extended-Fund-Facility](https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2016/08/11/09/49/pr16375-Egypt-IMF-Reaches-Staff-Level-Agreement-on-a-Three-Year-US$12-Billion-Extended-Fund-Facility).

management of external, regional, and international relations. Fears and insecurities have guided and motivated Egypt's political conversation, as well as its political behavior, both internally and externally. To this public discourse, Sisi has advanced three new ideas: at the outset, that the concern of Egyptian politics is the management of the country's human and material wealth, not just its poverty; next, that instead of taking up an isolationist position, Cairo should actively seek a stable and peaceful regional environment that leans on a more stout Egyptian-Gulf alliance and that includes the creation of a "regional security system." And lastly, that Egypt

should halt its obsessive dwelling on its past and should instead fix its sights on the future^{(427),(428)}.

Another important aspect of the Egyptian government's efforts to mend its image involved changing the existing opinions and awareness about the Egyptian economy which was perceived as a "basket case" in other words hopeless case. This was reflected in the return back of the Egyptian stock market to its pre-January 2011 levels, for instance, in May, 2014, the stock market's EGX 30 index went up to 8,728 points, which is considered the highest level since August 2008⁽⁴²⁹⁾.

Additionally, the economic indices witnessed a reduction of the budget deficit to 10%⁽⁴³⁰⁾ in the increase in the country's foreign currency reserves from \$13 billion in 2013 to \$17 billion in 2014, and in two stimulus packages that resulted both in the resumption of work on

⁴²⁷ "The Investment in the Time of Revolution," March 2, 2013 Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper; "Some Like It Barren," May 19, 2013; Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper; "Getting Out of the Historical Failure," May 26, 2013; Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper; "Hard Wear and Soft Wear," June 2, 2013; Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper

⁴²⁸ "Only Three Files and Nothing More," July 7, 2013; Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper "Egypt's Wealth and Poverty," September 15, 2013; Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper "Rich and Poor," April 5, 2014; Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper "From the River to the Sea," May 8, 2014, Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper

⁴²⁹ http://www.egx.com.eg/get_pdf.aspx?ID=2508&Lang=ARB.

⁴³⁰ "Budget Deficit Contracted by the End of April 2014 to EGP 163.3 Billion, or About 8% of the Budget," Al-Ahram, May 31, 2014, in Arabic.

infrastructure projects, and in increased industrial productivity⁽⁴³¹⁾. These indices were achieved owing to a package of economic reform decrees initiated by interim President Adly Mansour before Al-Sisi coming into office. They involved the long sought-after introduction of a capital gains tax; amending the Investment Law; prohibiting third parties from challenging government contracts in court; and a reduction of subsidies on energy products⁽⁴³²⁾.

Sisi's foreign policy:

Since the new Egyptian regime under Sisi came to office a far higher degree of congruence between the country's foreign and domestic policies. Therefore, even as the current president has given Egypt's internal development top priority, he has been working to create a favorable external environment for this agenda by putting emphasis on maintaining Egypt's peace with Israel and by strengthening his country's ties with the Gulf Arab states. The primary focus of Egypt's foreign policy is consolidating the alliance with the Arab Gulf countries, as they are considered as the key to furthering Egypt's national interests in a variety of fields: not only meeting the country's developmental needs, but also remodeling or reforming its relations with the West and even with Africa⁽⁴³³⁾.

Relations with the Gulf:

When president Al- Sisi came to power, he sought to take many measures to re-orient his country's foreign policy, hence he has restored Egypt's alliance with the Gulf states, particularly its traditional allies,

⁴³¹ "Mid-Year Economic & Fiscal Review," Ministry of Finance, Arab Republic of Egypt, February, 2014, p. 10.

⁴³² Mansour's Presidential Decrees," Daily News Egypt, June 3, 2014.

⁴³³ deciphering abdel fattah el-sisi: president of egypt's third republic, Abdel Monem Said Aly Middle East Brief No. 82, July 2014, crown center for middle east studies, brandies university

Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), which has been damaged during the Muslim brotherhood presidency. During Morsi's rule Cairo failed to secure a 4.5 billion \$ loan from the IMF, both Riyadh and Abu Dhabi refused to supply financial aid at a level that could replace the same amount to support the struggling Egyptian economy. Furthermore, Qatar's granting of big loans to Morsi instead of Saudi and UAE only served to further irritate both capitals, worsening the already tense relations between Doha and its other GCC partners.

As previously mentioned Sisi's election as the president of Egypt after the end of the transitional period of the head of the constitutional court president Adly Mansour has been warmly welcomed by all the Gulf monarchies who granted the new Egyptian regime financial assistance and in return, Cairo has promised to pursue its defense for the Gulf security and it supported the Saudi-led military coalition intervening in Yemen⁽⁴³⁴⁾.

Rebuilding the above mentioned Egyptian-GCC alliance with the financial and political assistance provided to Egypt by Saudi Arabia and the UAE, followed by that of Kuwait and Bahrain, in the aftermath of the Muslim Brotherhood's overthrow has put the country's ties with the Gulf states once again a topmost precedence. They were swift enough to grant Egypt direct economic assistance totaling some \$20 billion in 2013–2014⁽⁴³⁵⁾, and are considering the establishment of a Free Trade Zone with Egypt⁽⁴³⁶⁾.

Consolidating these bonds is on Egypt's top priority and has become a fairly high priority for the Gulf countries as well. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that Cairo has opened its doors to the Gulf investors to pump their investments in the mega projects in the country.

⁴³⁴Al Sisi: protecting the arab and Gulf National security, in Arabic, Al Sisi: hemayet alamen alkawmi al araby wa al khaliegy ,Al-Arabiya, 20 May 2014: <http://www.alarabiya.net/ar/arab-and-world/egypt/2014/05/20/-html>.

⁴³⁵ Gulf Aid to Egypt Since June 30 More Than \$20 Billion: El Sisi," Ahram Online, May 6, 2014.

⁴³⁶Nigle Wilson, "Egypt Seeks Free Trade Zone Talks with Gulf States in Bid to Boost Economy," International Business Times, August 29, 2014.

Furthermore, the Egyptian government granted a Saudi company 75,000 feddans (1 feddan = 1.038 acres) for land reclamation at the Toshki project, it allowed Saudi/UAE companies to produce 4,000 megawatts of electricity⁽⁴³⁷⁾.

From its side, Abu Dhabi has kicked off 12 developmental projects in Egypt and granted Cairo \$8.7 billion worth of oil products⁽⁴³⁸⁾. Moreover, Saudi Arabia has called on convening a big international conference that was supposed to be held in February 2015, under the slogan of “Partners for Development”; during which Egypt should have presented 145 development projects⁽⁴³⁹⁾. Sisi is looking beyond such grants and conceiving of an Arab Marshall Plan for Egypt, hoping that much-needed investments will be forthcoming on account of the successful track record of previous Arab investments in Egypt’s the promising sectors as the real estate, banking, insurance, transportation, and communication sectors.

In addition to their financial and economic assistance in the fulfillment of the Egyptian developmental requirements, these countries as well did their best to change the mindset of the U.S. and the EU in regard to the changes that took place in Egypt. As the Egyptian-Gulf relations were being restored to their pre-January 2011 levels, the two sides attempted to combine their forces in a wide range of fields. In this context, they coordinated their diplomatic activities, not only in the Arab League, but also the other international and regional forums, likewise they began to cooperate in dealing with the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood group and its much more radical associates, and in tackling the crises in Yemen, Libya, Syria, and Iraq⁽⁴⁴⁰⁾.

⁴³⁷“Saudi Arabia and UAE companies submit a proposal to the Egyptian government to produce 4,000 megawatts electricity,” Al-Masry Al-Youm, August 31, 2014 [in Arabic].

⁴³⁸ “UAE supplies oil materials to Egypt valued at 8.7 billion,” Al-Masry AlYoum, August 31, 2014 [in Arabic] see also (UAE aid to Egypt: 12 development projects,” Al-Masry Al-Youm, August 31, 2014 [in Arabic].

⁴³⁹ Mohamed Abdel Aati, “145 Projects for the ‘Partners for Development’ Conference in February 2015,” Al-Masry Al-Youm, August 31, 2014 in Arabic.

⁴⁴⁰post-revolution Egyptian foreign policy, Abdel Monem Said Aly, middle east brief, No.86, November 2014, crown center for middle east studies, Brandeis university.

The return of the Egyptian role in the African arena:

Egypt and the African Union:

In the wake of the Peace and Security Council decision of the African Union to suspend Egypt's participation in the activities of the Union until the restoration of the constitutional situation in the country- as mentioned earlier-, the Egyptian government has made relentless effort to rectify its image, in order to ensure the return of Egypt to its normal status in the African continent.

Hence, the Egyptian diplomacy carried on its endeavors to connect with all the African states through the Egyptian embassies in the countries of accreditation to stir up support for the positions and interests of Cairo in both regional and international forums, and to clarify the nature of the June 30th revolution, as well as the defies that faced the Egyptian people during the period that preceded the eruption of the revolution. Therefore, Egypt managed to regain its membership in the African Union in the June 17th, 2014, yet, in this framework it is worth noting that the African Union participated in monitoring and inspecting the Egyptian presidential elections in May 2014, with a delegation headed by the former Prime Minister of Mauritania, also, the Union participated in the inauguration ceremony of President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi on June 8th, 2014.

Egypt's keenness to return back of the African circle, accentuates not only its belonging to its African roots, but also its interest and the non- separation from the problems of the African continent. Consequently, Egyptian-African relations witnessed a big leap since the revolution of June 30th, based on the principles of unity and achievement of common goals without harming the interests of any side. Those norms and values reflect the strategic re-orientation of Cairo towards the Africa,

accordingly, the restoration of the Egyptian role for its vitality in the continent has been welcomed by all the African nations⁽⁴⁴¹⁾.

Egypt's membership in the Council of the African Union Peace and Security:

Egypt won the membership of the peace and security council for three years, after its election for the first time as the representative of north Africa region, in the elections that took place during the meeting of the African foreign ministers that was held in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa in January 2016. Cairo obtained 47 vote of total of 52 votes of the States that are entitled to take part in the elections. This Egyptian victory came in the framework of its historical leading role within the African continent, especially in issues related to the peace and security, as well as stability promotion, in addition to resolving and preventing conflicts in Africa⁽⁴⁴²⁾.

Moreover, Egypt's membership in the Council of the Peace and Security of African Union which goes in parallel with its membership in the UN Security Council⁽⁴⁴³⁾, a matter which would entitle Cairo to represent the linkage between the African continent and the Security Council, in regard to issues that jeopardize the Peace and Security of the continent. Similarly, this nexus would positively help out in resolving the continent's impediments within the UN Security Council, specially that approximately 70 % of the work of the Security Council is related to African topics, as well as the close relationship between the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, and the agenda of peace and security of the African Union.

⁴⁴¹the African parliament, peace and cooperation message, October 2016, state information service, in Arabic, alparlman alafriky ,resalet salam wa taawon, <http://sis.gov.eg/Story/129010?lang=ar>.

⁴⁴² Egypt Elected to the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, <http://www.mfa.gov.eg/English/Minister/News/Pages/NewsDetails.aspx?Source=6781921f-3993-444a-859eee26ce851de8&newsID=a2b17ea2-bfe8-4238-8779-d20e43aa69ba>

⁴⁴³ Egypt Wins Non-Permanent Security Council Seat, 20th October 2015, <http://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/97001>.

Egyptian activity on the level of the African summits and bilateral level:

Since the 30th of June revolution Egypt has been keen on enhancing its relations with the various African countries and reinforcing its involvement in the joint African action, a matter that has been reflected in the participation of President al-Sisi in the African summits, as the African Union summit that was held in Malabo, capital of Equatorial Guinea in June 2014⁽⁴⁴⁴⁾, and the summit which was held in Addis Ababa on January 2016, as well as other summits and meetings. Those Egyptian efforts are derived from its longstanding and deep-rooted belief in the common destiny among all the African States, and the importance of making the necessary efforts to achieve peace and stability, along with fostering the economic and social development, as well as seeking to settle disputes in the continent.

Likewise, Egypt was handed the position of the coordinator of the Committee of Heads of State and Governments of the African concerned climate change (CAHOSCC) during the African Union Summit that was held in January 2015 for two years until the end of 2016, along with Egypt's presidency of the Conference of African Ministers of Environment AMCEN for two years from the year 2014 till 2016. Moreover, during the 32nd session of the steering committee of NEPAD in Addis Ababa in January 2015, President Abdel-Fattah El-Sisi was re-elected to the post of vice chairman of the steering committee for a second and final, for two years ending in 2017. Likewise, Egypt hosted summit of the three regional economic communities (COMESA-SADC-EAC) in Sharm El-Sheikh in June 2015, with the participation of heads of states and governments of 26 African countries, which stand for a market that represents more than 58% of GDP of the continent, that worth about 1.3 trillion \$, and 57% of the total population of Africa.

⁴⁴⁴ The Report: Egypt 2014, Oxford Business Group, Dec 2, 2014 – page. 22.

What is more, one of the most important results of the Sharm el-Sheikh summit, was the signing of the "Tripartite Free Trade Area" also known by the "Sharm El-Sheikh agreement," by the Heads of States and Governments of the member states of the three communities, which will assist in enhancing in the inter trade movement between those countries, and increasing the investment flows, beside opening more markets, and promoting competitiveness, as well as, supporting the infrastructure development process, a matter which will put the region forward to be a pioneer in the fields of economic and commercial integration in the continent⁽⁴⁴⁵⁾.

The relations with the Nile basin countries under Al-Sisi:

Tackling the Nile issue and the impacts of Ethiopia's establishment of the Great Renaissance Dam (GERD) on the Blue Nile presents a clear and present danger on the Egyptian national security. From its part, the current Egyptian regime through its foreign policy apparatus, stated to get support for Cairo's position and for the steps that would need to be taken to protect its interests.

In this framework, during president Sisi first participation in the African Summit in Equatorial Guinea, he hinted at his foreign policy priorities. Thus, he attained an accomplishment when he managed to reach a seven-point agreement with Ethiopia's prime minister to form a Bilateral Joint Commission to resolve the dispute⁽⁴⁴⁶⁾. Thereafter a series of technical and political meetings took place between the two sides. From his part, president Al- Sisi was geared up to visit Ethiopia to reach an settlement that would avoid a reduction in Egypt's share of Nile

⁴⁴⁵ a year after the tripartite, june 20th, 2016, Dr. Sherif Fahmy, <http://www.egypt-business.com/News/details/1625-A-year-after-the-Tripartite-Agreement/42018>

⁴⁴⁶ Joint statement By the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, June 28th, 2014.

water⁽⁴⁴⁷⁾ In response, Ethiopia promised that the renaissance or in Arabic Nahda Dam would not be used for irrigation⁽⁴⁴⁸⁾.

Ethiopia has gained big importance in the Egyptian foreign policy owing to its plans to build the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) and its negative effects on Cairo. As soon as the plan for the dam was announced in 2011, tensions began to mount between the two countries, culminating with a reunion of Egyptian politicians and leaders from all spectrums led by former president Morsi aired live on Egyptian TV without their knowledge, as they suggested arming Ethiopian rebels to destroy the dam⁽⁴⁴⁹⁾.

Yet, under Sisi, the tension has started to ease, as he declared that a new era between Egypt and Ethiopia will be inaugurated⁽⁴⁵⁰⁾. Moreover, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan held their first set of Tripartite National Committee talks, which came right after the Egyptian -Ethiopian negotiations that took place in Sudan, and failed for three rounds. Hence, the tripartite committee signed a “Declaration of Principles” which paved the way for further negotiations⁽⁴⁵¹⁾. This declaration involved a pledge among the three countries to realize their own interests, but without causing any harm to the other parties, and to respect the results of studies on the effects of dam renaissance on the downstream countries.

Moreover, the negotiations about the Renaissance dam is currently underway to continue on two tracks, the scientific and technical one, through the tripartite national technical Committee and the political

⁴⁴⁷ Bassam Ramadan, “Minister of Irrigation: Sisi Is Ready to Travel to Ethiopia More Than Once,” Al-Masry Al-Youm, August 30, 2014, in Arabic.

⁴⁴⁸ Goma Hamadallah, “Foreign Minister of Ethiopia: We Are Not Going to Use the Nahdha Dam for Irrigation,” Al-Masry Al-Youm, September 6, 2014, in Arabic.

⁴⁴⁹ With Cameras Rolling, Egyptian Politicians Threaten Ethiopia Over Dam, *LIAM STACK*, June, 2013, http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/06/06/with-cameras-rolling-egyptian-politicians-threaten-ethiopia-over-dam/?_r=0. A few months later, the Ethiopian Foreign Ministry refuses Egypt’s request to halt construction on the dam.

⁴⁵⁰ one year of foreign policy under Sisi, <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/?id=24610:one-year-on-foreign-policy-under-sisi>.

⁴⁵¹ Full text of 'Declaration of Principles' signed by Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia, march 2015, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/125941.aspx>.

path through the Six-Party Committee, which aims at implementing the recommendations of the international experts studies on the effects of the dam on the downstream countries. All these steps are taken to defend Egypt's water interests and security, as well as to find alternative tracks to guarantee that. additionally, these movements continue to follow-up the hydro projects that are established by the Nile basin countries on the course of the river, in order to ensure the inviolability Egypt's share of water or harm its rights in this regard, as well as to promote cooperation in the field of water resources with the Nile basin countries through providing its expertise. This cooperation aims to advance the Egyptian presence within these State in order to revise their water policies and push for further collaboration to save the water losses to increase the revenues of the river in the interest of the basin countries.

On the political level President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi paid a visit to Addis Ababa in the beginning of 2015, the first at the bilateral level on the presidential level in 30 years, during which he held a number of meetings with both the president, the Ethiopian prime minister and the patriarch of Ethiopia, besides the Chairman of the Supreme Council Islamic Affairs, as well as the delegation of the Ethiopian public diplomacy, and a number of businessmen. During this visit a decision to upgrade the joint bilateral Committee to become a high joint committee under the chairmanship of president and prime minister. Alternatively, Egypt in coordination with the Ethiopian government, managed to secure the release of twenty-seven Ethiopians who were kidnapped in Libya⁽⁴⁵²⁾.

On the other hand, The Ethiopian Public diplomacy delegation visited Egypt in December 2014 under the chairmanship of the President of the Ethiopian Parliament, this delegation included 65 of the Ethiopian public figures in different fields, such as culture, commerce, and politics as well as art and press. they met a number of Egyptian officials on top of them President Abdel Fattah Al- Sisi, the Prime Minister, and the Foreign

⁴⁵² Egyptian army forces free Ethiopians held in Libya, May 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-egypt-libya-ethiopia-idUKKBN0NS18M20150507>.

Minister, as well as the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, and His Holiness Pope of Alexandria. Moreover, his holiness pope Matthias patriarch of Ethiopia visited Cairo in January 2015, where he visited Alexandria and a number of monasteries and churches in Cairo. also, he met with the Egyptian President and Prime Minister as well as Pope Pope of Alexandria and the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar. In addition, the Ethiopian Prime Minister visited Egypt in August 2015 to attend the inauguration ceremony of the new Suez Canal.

Tense relations with Turkey:

Since Morsi's ouster, however, Egyptian –Turkish relations have soured. Turkish President Recip Tayyip Erdogan has been the most outspoken foreign leader critical of the removal of the Muslim Brotherhood president, and has condemned the international community for not taking a similar stance (Turkish PM calls for U.N. Security Council to convene on Egypt,' Reuters, August 15, 2013, available at⁽⁴⁵³⁾: have only worsened, with Erdogan describing the Egyptian leader as tyrant.

Moreover, Turkey refused to recognize the government set up after the 2013 coup, insisting that Morsi remained the legitimate president. Since November 2013, Cairo had expelled the Turkish ambassador and downgraded ties with Turkey to the level of charge d'affaires. Erdogan's support for the Muslim Brotherhood in the Arab world has two important motives. First, Erdogan's Islamist supporters continue to admire Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. (Senem Aydın-Düzgit. July 24, 2014⁽⁴⁵⁴⁾. Second, Erdogan's policies of depoliticizing the Turkish military to protect his rule from military coup, necessitates a strong stance against any military coup against an elected government⁽⁴⁵⁵⁾.

⁴⁵³ <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/08/15/us-egypt-protests-turkey>.

⁴⁵⁴ "The Seesaw Friendship Between Turkey's AKP and Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/07/24/seesawfriendship-between-turkey-s-akp-and-egypt-s-muslim-brotherhood>)

⁴⁵⁵ Soner Cagaptay. "Erdogan's Empathy for Morsi," September 2014, The Washington Institute: <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/erdogans-empathy-for-morsi>.

The continuity of the current Turkish government hostile foreign policy attitude implies that restoring relations with Egypt will not be possible in the near future. This has made Ankara a home or safe haven to the Egyptian Brotherhood opposition which is assured of continued support from Turkey⁽⁴⁵⁶⁾.

Meanwhile, The current Egyptian regime has sought to neutralize Ankara's threat with the anti-Turkey alliances in the Middle East and beyond. In this regard, Cairo hosted a trilateral meeting that was attended by Cyprus and Greece, to set up a new energy cooperation deal that was announced between the three parts. The deal defies the Turkish claim on gas deposits in the East Mediterranean that are claimed by Cyprus. Thus, in a joint “Cairo Declaration”, the three countries called on Ankara to respect the “sovereignty of Cyprus over its exclusive economic zone.” (Oil reserves in the Mediterranean open new front between Cairo and Ankara,’ Alakhbar, November 12, 2014⁽⁴⁵⁷⁾:

Although Turkey joined the anti-Assad forces in Syria, Turkey’s support has been grasped by Saudi Arabia and UAE as support for the Muslim Brotherhood in the country. Through “losing” Egypt, Turkey has become rather isolated, suffering more difficult relations most of the arab capitals namely, Baghdad, Damascus, Riyadh, and Abu Dhabi, not to mention being at odds with Iran over Syria and Iraq. Likewise, Israel's relations with Turkey have become more strained after Erdogan alleged that Tel- Aviv was behind the military takeover in Egypt. (Israel behind coup to oust Morsi, Turkish PM Erdoğan says,” Hurriyet Daily News, August 20, 2013⁽⁴⁵⁸⁾:

⁴⁵⁶The Egyptian brotherhood, between the generation divisions and the Turkish exile demands, September, 2016,<http://www.alhayat.com/m/story/17469986>.

⁴⁵⁷ <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/22437>.

⁴⁵⁸ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/israel-behind-coup-to-oust-morsi-turkishpm-erdogan-says.aspx?PageID=238&NID=52876&NewsCatID=338>.

The ties with the United States:

Traditionally, Egypt has been an important country for U.S. national security interests for reasons attributed to its geography, demography, and diplomatic position. From a geostrategic perspective, Egypt has power over the Suez Canal, through which 8% of all global maritime shipping passes annually. Furthermore, the country expedites the passage of U.S. Naval vessels through the Canal, providing a strategic advantage or benefit to the American forces deploying to the Mediterranean Sea or Persian Gulf/Indian Ocean basin for time-sensitive operations. Demographically, Egypt, with a population of 83 million, is by far the largest Arab country⁽⁴⁵⁹⁾. Besides, Cairo still has its significant soft power owing to the presence of Al Azhar University, which claims to be the oldest university still functioning and has symbolic importance as mentioned in previous parts.

From this perspective and owing to these reasons, not only United States is aware of the importance of the country, but Cairo as well is sentient to the significance of the relations between the two countries. Thus, Egypt has succeeded to stabilize its ties with Washington, though still remains some intangible residue of skepticism and wariness. The west in general, especially the United States and the European Union are critical and nit-picking about the country's domestic political environment. Yet, Washington is in need of allies to support its efforts to face the threat of the Islamic State in Iraq and Levant (ISIL) or (Daesh). Thus, from his part Al-Sisi pledged Egyptian collaboration and assistance in combating other regional terrorist groups, such as those in the Sinai.

Since Morsi's ouster and prior to Sisi's election many significant milestones in the course of the relations between the two countries took place that reflects the instability of the relationship pathway between both Cairo and Washington that lasts till this moment. For instance, in April

⁴⁵⁹ The Too Fertile Crescent," The Economist, June 6, 2015.

2014, Washington designated Sinai-based Ansar Bayt Al-Maqdis as a foreign terrorist organization⁽⁴⁶⁰⁾. Afterwards, The State Department communicated the American government concern over Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood supporters mass death sentences⁽⁴⁶¹⁾. Moreover, Several months before the election of President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, and for the first time in over thirty years, the United States suspended military aid to Egypt⁽⁴⁶²⁾. While the United States supplies \$1.3 billion in military aid to Egypt annually, in October 2013, the US suspended the delivery of certain large-scale military systems and cash assistance to the government pending credible progress toward an inclusive, democratically elected civilian government through free and fair elections. President Sisi himself after being elected and with the continuation of this military suspension expressed frustration, arguing that it sent a “negative indication to the public opinion that the United States is not standing by the Egyptians.”⁽⁴⁶³⁾

On the occasion of Sisi's inauguration in June 2014 The White House welcomed the chance to advance the US-Egypt strategic partnership, and it aspired that the president Sisi will move reform towards sustainable democracy⁽⁴⁶⁴⁾. Moreover, the American president Obama called Sisi to congratulate him on his recent election and reaffirms US commitment to a strong US-Egypt relationship. Afterwards, the American administration decided to emancipate \$575 million in military aid to Egypt from the FY14 budget, mainly, to pay the existing defense contracts. The release of the Apache helicopters was promised as well. While, the remaining \$728 million of aid was available for dispersal until September 2015.

⁴⁶⁰ Terrorist Designation of Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/04/224566.htm>.

⁴⁶¹ Egyptian Court Sentencing Recommendations, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/04/225273.htm>.

⁴⁶² Armin Rosen. 'The U.S. and Egypt Sure Look Like Allies, at Least on Military Matters,' *The Atlantic*, September 14, 2012. <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/09/the-us-and-egypt-sure-look-like-allies-at-least-on-military-matters/262411/>.

⁴⁶³ Exclusive: El-Sisi urges 'Arab ready force' to confront ISIS, questions if US 'standing by' Egypt," *Foxnews.com*, March 9, 2015.

⁴⁶⁴ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/06/04/statement-press-secretary-presidential-election-egypt>.

In September 2014, both presidents Sisi and Obama met for the first time on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly in New York, where the Egyptian president explained to President Obama the real situation in the country since the June 30 Revolution. Couple of months later the State Department sent a US Chamber of Commerce business delegation visit to Egypt including more than 150 US executives representing over sixty companies.

Moreover, by the end of the year 2014 the FY15 Appropriations Bill passed by Congress includes \$1.45 billion in aid to Egypt, broken down into \$1.3 billion in Foreign Military Financing (FMF) and \$150 million for the Economic Support Fund (ESF). The FMF amount is the same as the FY14 budget, but the ESF amount has been reduced by \$100 million and American Apache helicopters are delivered back to Egypt. In March 2015, the American administration announced its participation in Egypt's Economic Development Conference on the level of Secretary of State⁽⁴⁶⁵⁾. Furthermore, the United States decided release military aid to Egypt citing national security concerns. The Egyptian government was officially notified that an executive hold has been lifted on twelve F-16 fighter jets, twenty missiles and up to 125 tank kits⁽⁴⁶⁶⁾

Ties with Russia:

In an effort to counter US and EU pressure over its domestic politics, Al-Sisi tried to diversify his foreign policy options through intensifying the relationship with other world powers as Russia. Hence, he welcomed the Russian President Vladimir Putin in Egypt in February 2015⁽⁴⁶⁷⁾. A 2\$ billion deal to purchase 46 MiG-29 multi-role fighter jet from Moscow was discussed by the two presidents had been agreed⁽⁴⁶⁸⁾.

⁴⁶⁵ Secretary of State John Kerry to Travel to Egypt and Switzerland, March 2015, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2015/03/238681.htm>.

⁴⁶⁶ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/03/31/readout-president-s-call-president-al-sisi-egypt>

⁴⁶⁷ <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/ar/policyanalysis/view/how-to-judge-putins-trip-to-egypt>.

⁴⁶⁸ http://www.defenseworld.net/news/13027/Egypt_To_Buy_46_Russian_MiG_29_Fighter_Jets_For_2_Billion.

Moreover, Al-Sisi has already visited Moscow twice, once when he was a defense minister and again after he became president in his first visit to a non-African, non-Arab country. Both presidents reached a decision on founding a Russian industrial zone in the new Suez Canal Project⁽⁴⁶⁹⁾. In these visits he concluded a wide range of agreements, including a \$3.5 billion framework agreement for arms supplies ⁽⁴⁷⁰⁾ This, however, should not be interpreted as ignoring the other focuses of Egypt's foreign policy, as the United States and the European Union. undoubtedly, the current Egyptian regime is counting on this diverse foreign policy to amplify the country's options and to contend with pressures exerted by Washington and other Western capitals regarding its domestic affairs⁽⁴⁷¹⁾.

For instance, In 2014, trade between Cairo and Moscow surged up to 3\$ billion, which according to President Vladimir Putin, reflected a 50 percent rate of growth⁽⁴⁷²⁾. That same year, 3 million Russian tourists visited Egypt. While a strengthening of ties has been seen between Russia and Egypt, including a reported \$3.5 billion arms deal.

In the first quarter of 2015 Putin visited Cairo where the two countries signed a preliminary deal to establish Egypt's first nuclear power plant⁽⁴⁷³⁾.

⁴⁶⁹ Egypt and Russia to establish industrial zone in Suez Canal, August 2014, <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2014/08/13/egypt-russia-establish-industrial-zone-suez-canal/>.

⁴⁷⁰ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/0/108273/Egypt/0/ElSisi,-Putin-stress-close-ties,-near-arms-deal-.aspx>.

⁴⁷¹ Barbara Slavin, "Fahmy: Egypt Will 'Diversify' Foreign Policy with Closer Ties to Russia," *Al -Monitor*, April 28, 2014.

⁴⁷² Russia-Egypt Nuclear Power Plant Deal: Why Ignoring Egypt's Needs Is Bad For The U.S, February 2015, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/annaborshchevskaya/2015/02/13/russia-egypt-nuclear-power-plant-deal-why-ignoring-egypts-needs-is-bad-for-the-u-s/#8e1c5a72f1b8>.

⁴⁷³ Russia's Putin, Egypt's el-Sisi agree on preliminary nuclear power deal, February 2015, <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/02/10/middleeast/egypt-russia-talks/>). Also, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs participated in Egypt's Economic Development Conference.

The YEMENI Crisis:

As for the crisis in Yemen, it is worth to be noted that Egypt supported the intervention of the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen in the operation called named Operation Decisive Storm (in Arabic Amaliyyat 'Āṣifat Al-Ḥazm). this intervention at the outset consisted of a bombing campaign and later a naval blockade target strongholds of the Houthis militia and loyalists of the former President of Yemen, Ali Abdullah Saleh, which are supported by Iran, in response to a request from the internationally-recognized but domestically opposed government of President Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi⁽⁴⁷⁴⁾.

The Egyptian backing for this military operation might be referred to a number of reasons explained by its domestic and regional environment. President Sisi had to face a wave of criticism from Western capitals concerning what they described as "undemocratic practices" when he overthrew Mohamed Morsi amid the mass protests against the latter's rule. Furthermore, the Egyptian stance is based on its historical responsibilities not only towards the security of the Gulf region but also towards the Arab national security. As well the Egyptian economy was in bad condition and inflation was on the rise and unemployment had increased up to 13% (youth 33%, women 24%). As a result, the anti-Brotherhood GCC states, acting as a *deus ex machina* or the saving power that offered substantial financial assistance to the new government.

Back, the Egyptian President promised to help his GCC allies to resist Iran's hegemonic aspirations and called for the creation of a joint Arab force to defend the Gulf and fight Islamic extremism. Although Sisi's war against the Iran-backed Houthi militia brought back unpleasant memories of the Egyptian interference in 1962, yet it was a necessary

⁴⁷⁴ Gulf Coalition Operations in Yemen (Part 1): The Ground War, march 2016, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/gulf-coalition-operations-in-yemen-part-1-the-ground-war>.

measure in order to eradicate the maritime security threat in the Red Sea and to guarantee the safety of the Suez Canal's traffic⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾.

Al-Sisi regarded the war in Yemen as an additional opportunity to push for the country's "war on terror" domestically and to depict, internationally, the Egyptian state as a safeguard against extremism in the Middle East region. Furthermore, the controversial American consent of the operation contributed to a substantial amendment of the damaged relations between Cairo and Washington⁽⁴⁷⁶⁾. In this regard, it could be argued that Washington has a strong interest in assisting the Egyptian efforts in Yemen. The U.S. military relies on safe transit through the Bab al-Mandab Strait for supporting coalition efforts against the threat of terrorist groups, as well as maintaining its presence in the region more broadly⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾.

Egypt has followed closely the developments of the Yemeni crisis, since the eruption of the February 2011 revolution and the deterioration of the security conditions and political stability that the country has witnessed since then, as one of the priorities of the Egyptian foreign policy in the light of the specialty of relations between the two countries, in which the strategic and security dimensions remains as essential elements in its structure. In this framework, Egyptian position has always relied on the support of the unity of the Yemeni territories and welcoming all United Nations and the Security Council resolutions on Yemen, as well as, advocating the peaceful settlement and national dialogue in order to reach consensual solution.

Form its part, the Egyptian government via the ministry of foreign affairs confirmed in many statements, the full support of Egypt for all the

⁴⁷⁵ Ahram Online, "Egypt's Sisi Reassures Sceptics of Military Intervention in Yemen," (4/4/2015), <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/126882.aspx>.

⁴⁷⁶ Zenko, Micah, "Obama's War of Choice: Supporting the Saudi-led Air War in Yemen," Council on Foreign Relations, (25/9/2015), <http://blogs.cfr.org/zenko/2015/09/25/obamas-war-ofchoice-supporting-the-saudi-led-air-war-in-yemen/>.

⁴⁷⁷ Egypt's Yemen Campaign, Eric Trager, March 2015, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/egypts-yemen-campaign>.

legitimate institutions and symbols of the Yemeni state, and that its future should be determined by consensus among the various political parties. Also, it stressed the importance of the commitment of all Yemeni political factions to pursue the dialogue under the auspices of UN, on the basis of the Gulf Cooperation council (GCC) initiative and its mechanisms of implementations, as well as the outputs of the national dialogue and the agreement for peace and national partnership⁽⁴⁷⁸⁾, in addition to, the related Security Council resolutions, as the only way to resolve the current crisis in the country⁽⁴⁷⁹⁾.

Furthermore, with the worsening of the situation there, Egypt in August 2015 sent humanitarian aid to Yemen, which suffers from the escalation of armed clashes that resulted in the destruction of infrastructure a matter that impeded the access of food and medical supplies, as well as, the dispatch of a number of Egyptian doctors to provide the necessary medial help and health care for the Yemeni people⁽⁴⁸⁰⁾.

In the same framework, Egypt supported the efforts made by the Kuwaiti government for hosting the negotiations between the Yemeni parties in order to reach a peaceful solution that ensures the return of security and stability to the country⁽⁴⁸¹⁾.

⁴⁷⁸http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2014_2019/documents/darp/dv/darp20141204_05_/darp20141204_05_en.pdf.

⁴⁷⁹ UN Documents for Yemen: Security Council Resolutions, <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/search.php?IncludeBlogs=10&limit=15&tag=%22Security%20Council%20Resolutions%22+AND+%22Yemen%22&ctype=Yemen&rtype=Security%20Council%20Resolutions&cbtype=yemen>.

⁴⁸⁰ Egyptian president Sisi sends humanitarian aid to Yemen, August 2015, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/137095/Egypt/Politics-/Egyptian-president-Sisi-sends-humanitarian-aid-to-.aspx>

⁴⁸¹ UN envoy urges 'definitive decisions' as peace talks continue in Kuwait, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=54476#.WDIhi7J97IU>

The SYRIAN Crisis:

The Syrian crisis is complicated and demands more delicate handling. The Muslim Brotherhood held Egypt in tight embrace with Turkey and Qatar over their pro-Sunni and anti-Assad fury. That has been replaced by a more balanced approach under Sisi. Much to the delight of President Assad, Egypt now wishes that the Syrian state and army do not collapse in fear of the negative impact to regional stability and security⁽⁴⁸²⁾.

As previously mentioned, the June 30th revolution has managed to restore to a substantially the weight of Egypt in its regional environment, and in this regard Egypt is working hard as possible to support the peaceful settlement of the ongoing Syrian crisis, a matter which will regain back the security and stability to the Syrian territories and among all spectrums of Syrian people

Actually, the current Egyptian regime is more concerned with Sunni extremism in the region, which also spreads in the Sinai peninsula. Thus, Cairo's position on this ongoing conflict calls for the importance of finding a political solution that should include Al- Assad regime. However, the Egyptian choice to include Assad in Syria's power game, even though it is just vocal one, has alarmed other parties⁽⁴⁸³⁾.

In this framework, the Egyptian government managed to provide a platform for national Syrian opposition - led by the Syrians themselves- through sponsoring group that attracts national moderate opposition, which seek a political solution for the ongoing conflict, to establish a civil Syrian state, that would maintain its territorial integrity. while at the same moment preserving the various social and religious spectrum, without any

⁴⁸² Hatem, Abdullah, "Sisi's Attempts to Rehabilitate Assad... A Different Tune to the Gulf," Middle East Monitor, (28/8/2015), <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/articles/middleeast/20697-sisis-attempts-to-rehabilitate-assad-a-different-tune-to-the-gulf>.

⁴⁸³ a balance sheet for the ministry of foreign affairs 2014 and the Egyptian diplomatic strategy, Mahmoud Ali Al- Badel, December 29th , 2014, in Arabic, kashf hesab lelkharegia al masreya.

impairment to the Syrian official institutions. In this context, Cairo hosted a conference for the Syrian opposition that was held in January 2015, which was followed by another one in June 2015, which issued two important documents, namely "the road map" and "the Syrian National Charter"⁽⁴⁸⁴⁾.

All the Egyptian efforts to resolve this ongoing crisis with all the concerned parties, either the regional or the international as well as the Syrian national opposition, is grounded on its deep faith of the need to encourage positive interaction with the political process sponsored by the United Nations through the ongoing talks in Geneva. What is more, Egypt has actively participated in international support group for Syria, where its participation has reflected Egypt's attitude toward the crisis, which is based, on several principles, in the forefront of them, the rejection of the military solution for the crisis, the preservation of the elements of the Syrian state, and the fight against terrorism, as well as the contribution to alleviate the human suffering of the Syrian people.

Nonetheless, Sisi does not bother with the Turkish and Qatari hostile attitude against his regime and their policies in relation to Syria, since they have already been strong supporters to the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist groups in the region. Saudi Arabia though could prove to be at variance with Egypt on the Syrian issue, yet Riyadh and the major powers of the GCC, such as Kuwait and the UAE, provided political and financial backing to the Egyptian government and they would wish to influence its important choices on the international arena.

After all, in Sisi's dream of a joint Arab force, the primary target would be the Islamists in Egypt's proximity. ⁽⁴⁸⁵⁾.

⁴⁸⁴ (Towards a Syrian political solution, Doaa El-Bey, 11 June, 2015 <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/12513/19/Towards-a-Syrian-political-solution-.aspx>)

⁴⁸⁵ Chulov, Martin, "Arab States Plan Joint Middle East Force as Yemen Conflict Continues," <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/29/arab-states-plan-joint-military-force-to-combat-common-middle-east-threats>.

The Libyan crisis:

Targeting terrorist groups was also the case with neighboring Libya where the new Egyptian regime strongly supports the elected and internationally recognized government exiled in Tobruk against its Islamist opposition in Tripoli. After the Western-backed uprising in February 2011, to overthrow the longstanding regime of Al- Gaddafi who ruled the country for over 42 years. In the aftermath of these protests an ongoing civil war erupted and the country descended into chaos that lasts till this moment and increasingly became a major security threat for Egypt due to their 1,115 km shared border.

The Libyan crisis comes at the forefront of the Egyptian foreign policy, given the depth of the historical and strategic relations between the two countries, thus it faces major threats towards its Egyptian national security from the situation in Libya, firstly, the transformation of eastern Libya into a regional incubator for jihadist groups. Owing to the fragility of the post-revolutionary interim authority and its inability to disarm the militias, to develop new and efficient military and security agencies, and to establish its control over all parts of the country, militant jihadist groups proliferated, especially in the eastern part of country in borderline with Egypt. These groups were set up primarily of the second generation of Libyan jihadists who refused to engage in the post-revolutionary political process and who resurfaced as militia brigade commanders in Benghazi, Derna and other eastern cities. They are as well accused of assassinating figures related to the former Gaddafi regime, targeting the Western interests in Libya, most notably the US Consulate in Benghazi, training volunteers to fight in Syria and collaborating with jihadist groups in the Maghreb and northern Mali.⁽⁴⁸⁶⁾

Thus, Eastern Libya has become a good soil for jihadist movements in the region, which has worked to generate a hostile

⁴⁸⁶ Egypt and the Libyan threat, in Arabic, Masr Wa Al Tahded Alliby, July 2014, Khaled Hanafi <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/6870/21/Egypt-and-the-Libyan-threat.aspx>.

environment towards Egypt across the border. There have been frequent indicators that the eastern part of the country become a safe transit point for some wanted banned Muslim brotherhood group members who ran-away from Egypt after 30 June⁽⁴⁸⁷⁾.

While the second threat can be realized in the rise of organized crime in Eastern Libya. As a result of the laxity of the Egyptian security agencies after the Egyptian revolution and the disintegration of the Libyan security establishment into militias in the aftermath of the fall of Gaddafi, there evolved a serious drop in the joint control over the border between the two countries. This was influential in the growth in various types of illegalities, such as arms smuggling, drug trafficking and illegal immigration which, in turn, generated an economic infrastructure for jihadist groups both in Egypt and Libya. The smuggling of arms and materials used in suicide bombings is considered as the most dodgy and hazardous form of organized crime across the border from Libya to Egypt. moreover, the enormous weapons' supplies that remained in the country next to the fall of Gaddafi were assured a flourishing market in such a chaotic and an unstable region. That market covered at least 12 countries⁽⁴⁸⁸⁾. Among these was Egypt into which flowed some 10 million pieces of weaponry, most of which came from Libya and Sudan.

Finally, the third challenge facing the Egyptian national security because of the crisis in Libya is represented in the rise of attacks against Egyptian workers and commercial interests in Libya. As a result of the backdrop of the security breakdown in eastern Libya, Egyptian workers have progressively become victims of kidnappings and murder by jihadist militia groups. In the context of Egyptian labour the instability in Libya following the revolution affected Egypt in two ways. At the outset between 300,000 and 600,000 Egyptian workers in Libya were forced to

⁴⁸⁷ Egypt says it arrested 2 senior Muslim Brotherhood officials before they escaped to Libya, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2015/10/26/egypt-says-it-arrested-2-senior-muslim-brotherhood-officials-before-escaped-to.html>.

⁴⁸⁸ Libya arms fueling conflicts in Syria, Mali and beyond: U.N. experts, April 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-arms-un-idUSBRE93814Y20130409>.

return back to their country, a matter that put more domestic economic pressures on Egypt during the post-revolutionary period. In this regard, it is worth to mention that Prior to the revolution of 2011, an estimated 2 million Egyptian expatriates were living in Libya. However, as of mid-February 2015, the number by time has dropped to around 200,000. Secondly, the trade and investment between the two countries suffered. The volume of trade between Libya and Egypt plunged to nearly a half of its pre-revolutionary levels while the rates of Libyan investment in Egypt were affected by the issue of the Libyan authorities' demands for the handover of former Gaddafi regime figures who reside in Egypt.

On the other hand, Qatar, Turkey and Sudan support the Islamist forces in Libya which is a similar situation to what transpires in Syria⁽⁴⁸⁹⁾. In contrast, Egypt supports the official government. Cairo is believed to have provided clandestine support to Khalifa Haftar, a Gaddafi-era General, who was appointed Commander of the Libyan armed forces by the exiled government⁽⁴⁹⁰⁾.

In February 2015 the clashes in Libya witnessed a dramatic incident when the Libyan branch of the Islamic State abducted and later beheaded 21 Egyptian Copts, ISIS or Daesh released a video allegedly killing twenty Egyptian Coptic Christians in Libya, consequently the Egyptian president Sisi vows to "punish the murderers." In this context, the Egyptian and Libyan air forces responded with multiple airstrikes in Derna and Sirte, killing at least sixty-four militants. The airstrikes are carried out in coordination with Abdallah al-Thinni's government. "Egypt reserves the right to respond in the method and timing it deems suitable for

⁴⁸⁹ the deterioration of the situation in Libya and its impact on the Egyptian national security, in Arabic, *tadahwor al mawkef fi Libya wa atharo ala al amn al kawmy al masry*, Hossam sweilam, august 2014, <http://www.albawabhnews.com/742936>.

⁴⁹⁰ Kirkpatrick, David D. and Schmitt, Eric, "Arab Nations Strike in Libya, Surprising U.S.," *The New York Times*, (25/8/2014), http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/26/world/africa/egypt-andunited-arab-emirates-said-to-have-secretly-carried-out-libya-airstrikes.html?_r=1.

retribution from these killers," Egypt calls on the US-led coalition fighting ISIS in Syria and Iraq to expand its scope to include Libya⁽⁴⁹¹⁾.

It was an opportunity for Sisi to get directly involved in the neighboring country and send a message of national unity to Egypt's significant Christian community which mainly favors him. This time, the USA silently agreed and the Arab League, with the exception of Qatar, openly supported⁽⁴⁹²⁾.

On the political level, as mentioned before the Libyan crisis is considered as one of the most important Egyptian foreign policy priorities a matter which was confirmed by Cairo through its initiative, that was already launched by the Egyptian government, in which it expressed its firm and clear stance towards the developments of the situation in Libya. This position is based on three main principles, including, the respect of the unity and sovereignty of Libya and its territorial integrity, the non-interference in the internal affairs of Libya, and maintaining the political independence, as well as commitment to a continue the comprehensive dialogue and renounce violence.

Egypt's commitment to its initiative and vision was reflected through its support for the role of the legitimate institutions of the state, especially the House of Representatives, with the emphasis on the need to rebuild the state institutions, including the army and police, as well as, its willingness to provide assistance to the Libyan government in its efforts to secure and control the border with neighboring countries in accordance with comprehensive program. Additionally, the Egyptian government has stressed the importance of international support to Libya especially in terms of helping in the fight against terrorism and the rehabilitation of the state institutions in cooperation with neighboring countries.

⁴⁹¹ Egypt bombs Islamic state targets in Libya after beheading video, February 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypt-bombs-islamic-state-targets-in-libya-after-brutal-beheading-video/2015/02/16/3b32c50c-b5b6-11e4-9423-f3d0a1ec335c_story.html.

⁴⁹² Tolba, Ahmed, "Egypt, Qatar Trade Barbs in Dispute over Libya Strikes," Reuters, (19/2/2015), <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/19/us-mideast-crisis-egypt-qataridUSKBN0LN07520150219>.

Furthermore, The Egyptian diplomacy on several occasions stressed that Egypt is doing its utmost to maintain the unity and stability of Libya, especially in light of the developments on the ground, that requires an action plan which includes taking steps in side Libya, and other steps between Tripoli and neighboring countries, as well as, the international community to preserve the unity of the Libyan territory and maintaining its capabilities, which could be represented in its participation in all stages of the negotiations that led to the conclusion of the political agreement among the conflicting parties in Libya, which was sponsored by the United Nations, and in the signing ceremony of the latter agreement in the Moroccan city of Skhirat in December 2015⁽⁴⁹³⁾.

This agreement seeks not only to achieve the interests of the Libyan people, but also in attaining the stability of Libya and the whole region, as well as enhancing the counter-terrorism efforts in the Libyan territory through coordination with both the Libyan government and military, to provide all kinds of support for them, to face threats and risks plaguing the country, as a result of the spread of terrorist organizations on its territory⁽⁴⁹⁴⁾.

Cairo hosted a number of reunions with the leading Libyan political figures, notably the meeting between the Egyptian President Al-Sisi with Fayez Al-Sarrag the head of Libya's Presidential Council in May 2016, and the reception of many parliamentary delegations. In addition, Egypt organized a conference of the leaders of the Libyan tribes, in order to reach a peaceful solution that supports stability and contribute to the promotion of development and cooperation efforts in various fields, plus the fight against terrorism⁽⁴⁹⁵⁾.

⁴⁹³ Foreign Ministry Welcomes Security Council Resolution on Libya, <http://www.mfa.gov.eg/English/Ministry/News/Pages/NewsDetails.aspx?Source=6781921f-3993-444a-859e-ee26ce851de8&newsID=a5b02aa5-69ae-490b-8284-f19126ca00b9>.

⁴⁹⁴ Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2259 (2015), Security Council Welcomes Signing of Libyan Political Agreement on New Government for Strife-Torn Country, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2015/sc12185.doc.htm>.

⁴⁹⁵ (Egyptian diplomatic efforts to settle the Libyan crisis, May 2015, in Arabic *al-ghod al-diplomasiya al-masrya lelaj alazma allibya*, <http://sis.gov.eg/section/125/6815?lang=ar>)

Also, Egypt has played an important role in the framework of the efforts of neighboring countries to find a solution to the Libyan crisis, through its active participation either by attending or organizing of regional meetings related to the discussion of the latest developments in Libya, especially the security ones, which have taken serious turns, in light of, the escalation of the armed clashes and the big expansion of the ISIS organization throughout the Libyan territories, and the last one was the Egyptian participation in a meeting of Libya neighbors in Tunisia in March 2016.

Likewise, Egypt partaken in a number of international meetings that was held in Geneva and Vienna in 2016, that aimed at finding a solution for the worsening situation in Libya, especially with the delay in the ratification of the House of Representatives on the formation of a new Libyan government, a matter which led to the expansion of terrorism, due to the lack the capabilities to confront it and drying up its funding institutions.

Egypt is currently seeking to reach a consensus among the various Libyan parties in order to recognize the government from the part of the House of Representatives, a matter which will give it legitimacy according to the agreement Skhirat which was held in December 2015, so that it can exercise its functions effectively, and for the Libyan National Army to complete its role in the war on terrorism.

The Palestinian- Israeli cause under Sisi:

The 30th of June revolt stressed the Egyptian foreign policy constants, in which the Palestinian cause occupies a top priority, as Cairo has always had this firm belief in the right of the Palestinian people to obtain their usurped legitimate rights and to establish their independent state on the 1967 borders with its capital East Jerusalem. On the political front, President Abdel-Fattah El-Sisi launched his call to resolve the Palestinian issue fairly, stressing the need to take all the necessary

measures by the international community to end this conflict and enable the Palestinians to live in freedom and with dignity, and underscoring as well Egypt's readiness to exert all the needed efforts in this regard⁽⁴⁹⁶⁾.

The current Egyptian regime has been active in trying to revive his country's mediatory role in another thorn in the region, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. On the one hand, Sisi has been cooperating with Israel on security issues to combat the terrorist groups based in Sinai Peninsula, through the approval of increasing the Egyptian military deployments in the Sinai Peninsula to fight against the so-called "Sinai Province" (formerly Ansar Bait Al-Maqdis), an offshoot of the Islamic State. and on the other, he has isolated Hamas in favor of the Palestinian Authority. Thus, the current regime undertook an aggressive operation to destroy more than 1200 smuggling tunnels from Sinai to Gaza along with a widespread anti Hamas media campaign which castigates the Islamist group for meddling in Egypt's domestic affairs during the Morsi era and maintaining links with the terrorists operating in the Sinai⁽⁴⁹⁷⁾. After all, during the 2014 Israeli aggression on Gaza Strip, Sisi had to outmaneuver Turkey and Qatar, which coveted Egypt's position as a negotiator between the Palestinians and the Israelis, before managing to broker a fragile and indefinite ceasefire⁽⁴⁹⁸⁾.

On the humanitarian level, following the above mentioned Israeli aggression on the Gaza, Egypt has organized in cooperation with the Norwegian government, a big international conference on Palestine under the name of "the Cairo Conference on Palestine: the reconstruction of Gaza", on October 12th, 2014 to discuss the necessary means to alleviate the suffering of the Palestinian people and eliminate the consequences of Israeli aggression, thus, the participating countries pledged about 5.4 \$

⁴⁹⁶ Sisi urges more efforts to settle Palestinian issue, May 2016, <http://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/101564?lang=en-us>.

⁴⁹⁷ Court bans activities of Islamist Hamas in Egypt, March 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-hamas-idUSBREA230F520140304>.

⁴⁹⁸ Khatri, Shabina S., "Israel and Egypt Unhappy at Qatar, Turkey Mediation Efforts in Gaza," Doha News, (19/7/2014), <http://dohanews.co/israel-egypt-unhappy-qatar-turkey-mediationefforts-gaza/>.

billion as international aid to Palestine⁽⁴⁹⁹⁾. Furthermore, Egypt is making great efforts to lift the Israeli blockade on the Gaza Strip and to allow the entire basic needs into the Gaza Strip, as well as ensuring the delivery of all the basic services needed by the population in order to improve their living conditions and minimize the impact of humanitarian crises, which they are exposed.

Egypt is still on the road towards the full and complete recovery from its revolutionary upheavals, so its ability to play an active role in stabilizing other turbulent countries in the region, as Libya, Syria, and Iraq as well as Yemen, is yet relatively restrained. Nonetheless, the Egyptian government is trying to exert its utmost effort to deal with these pressing issues. Meanwhile, the short term, then, Egypt is confining itself to cooperating with Arab Gulf states, particularly Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, as well as with the Arab League to help in managing the tragic circumstances in these countries.

Yet even under existing limitations and restrictions, Egypt can still engage more significantly in the Palestinian - Israeli conflict. This was apparent in Egypt assistance for both Israel and Hamas to end their fifty-one-day war. On the contrary to similar efforts during the Mubarak and Morsi presidencies, yet, Egypt at the moment found itself in rivalry with both Turkey and Qatar. Unfortunately, while Israel accepted Egypt's ceasefire proposal Hamas rejected it, a matter which resulted in further bloodshed and destruction in Gaza. Cairo's initiative was adopted at last, after the Egyptian government success in securing the negotiations between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority on the specific tips in the dealing with the crossing points between Gaza and both Egypt and Israel.

Despite the fact that Egypt-Hamas relations as mentioned before were wholehearted during the Morsi presidency—not surprisingly, as Hamas as previously is the Palestinian branch of the Egyptian Muslim

⁴⁹⁹ http://www.mfa.gov.eg/gazaconference/default_en.html.

Brotherhood, those ties cooled remarkably after the June 30th revolution, as a result of the obvious interference of Hamas in Egypt's domestic affairs⁽⁵⁰⁰⁾. Though, as the 2014 Gaza War escalated, Hamas had no alternative but to ask for Egypt's help, especially when the Gulf states indicated that Cairo was the only address for negotiations.

Moreover, the current Egyptian government under Al- Sisi continued to adhere to his predecessors' commitments to respect the peace treaty with Israel and to seek at the same time a two-state solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. He added two new dimensions to the country's relations with Tel-Aviv, which involved a suggestion to create a regional security system that would guarantee the security of the borders of all the region's states; and a public acknowledgment that the depth of Egypt's peace with Israel had increased considerably, opening up the possibility of further understandings based on common interests. As an example of the latter, Sisi took note of Israel's acceptance of increased Egyptian military deployments in the Sinai (in excess of the limits stipulated in the Security Protocol of the 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty) in response to the threat of terrorism in the Sinai Peninsula⁽⁵⁰¹⁾. Another sign of potentially much closer Egyptian-Israeli ties is the serious consideration given in Cairo to purchasing natural gas from Israel⁽⁵⁰²⁾.

Sisi also used the opportunity of the above mentioned Gaza Reconstruction Conference, to call upon both the government and the people of Israel to accept the 2002 Arab Peace Initiative. *"It is high time to end conflict without delay and to give others their rights to establish justice so that prosperity and security could be achieved. I am confident that all of you share [with] me the call to every father and mother and every child and old man in Palestine and Israel to make this moment a*

⁵⁰⁰ A New Role for Egypt: Sisi's Government and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Edyt Dickstien, January 2015, Harvard international review, <http://hir.harvard.edu/a-new-role-for-egypt-sisis-government-and-the-arab-israeli-conflict/>.

⁵⁰¹ Interview on CBC TV a private Egyptian TV channel, May 6, 2014, in Arabic.

⁵⁰² Shoshanna Solomon, "Israel Near Gas Sales to Egypt as the Mideast Unrest Flares," Bloomberg, August 21, 2014; Christopher Coats, "Will Egypt Finally Embrace Israeli Gas?" Forbes, September 9, 2014.

real launching point for establishing peace that guarantees stability and prosperity and makes the dream of joint coexistence a reality. This is the vision, which is outlined by the Arab peace initiative. That peace [whose establishment] we all look for . . . and that should be our legacy for the coming generations ⁽⁵⁰³⁾.” He also made it clear that though the Initiative should constitute the framework for peace, agreement would still need to be reached between Israel and the Palestinian National Authority⁽⁵⁰⁴⁾.

Security Council Membership:

On the multilateral level, Egypt’s election to a non-permanent seat in the UN Security Council in 2015, with wide support from the General Assembly, is one of the most important achievements of Egyptian diplomacy since January 25, 2011, reflecting the international community’s support for Egypt and its role in maintaining international peace and security and promoting African, Arab and developing world causes inside the Council. Moreover, Egypt has been recently selected to head three specialized committees in the Security Council, namely the Counter-Terrorism Committee and the UN Sanctions Committees Concerning both the Democratic Republic of Congo and Iraq. Egypt has become a partner among 15 states that carry the burden of preserving peace and security at the international level. Egypt’s priorities are Arab and African issues, combating terrorism, and conflict resolution in the Middle East, as well as the Palestinian cause. Egypt is the only Arab state in the council at a time in which the region faces difficult situations in Syria, Libya, Iraq and Yemen. Egypt will work through its membership in the council to protect Arab interests and present constructive solutions to African and Arab crises⁽⁵⁰⁵⁾.

⁵⁰³ Speech by H. E. President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi at the Gaza Reconstruction Conference, State Information Service, Cairo, October 12, 2014.

⁵⁰⁴ John Bell, “Egypt: Rebranding Sisi,” Al-Jazeera, October 14, 2014.

⁵⁰⁵ Egypt Wins Non-Permanent Security Council Seat, October 2015, <http://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/97001?lang=en-us>.

Egypt elected member of the United Nations Human Rights Council

The year 2016 witnessed another victory for the Egyptian diplomacy, which is the election of Egypt as a member in the United Nations Human rights council a matter that illustrates the support it has at the international level, Egypt was elected for the term 2017 - 2020, after it received 173 votes. Egypt's accession to the UN Human Rights Council, along with its membership of the United Nation Security Council and the African Union Peace and Security Council is a display of its rise to global prominence and the growing confidence it gained at the international level, with its leading role in enhancing security and stability in the Middle East and Africa, and in upholding the principles of International law and the Charter of the United Nations.

Egypt's membership of the Human Rights Council reflects the international appreciation for its political trajectory, as it moves ahead with steady steps towards the establishment of a modern state that upholds the values of human rights, democracy and the rule of law, despite the difficult regional situation and the challenges it imposes at the internal and regional levels. Furthermore, Cairo looks forward to effectively enhancing the working mechanism of the council and promote International Human Rights through a holistic approach that goes beyond political and civic freedoms, which ought to be developed, to encompass other aspired economic and social rights. Also, it seeks for the alleviation of the negative consequences of the conflicts raging in the Middle East and Africa, with its human rights violations and humanitarian repercussions on innocent civilians⁽⁵⁰⁶⁾.

⁵⁰⁶ Egypt wins membership in UN Human Rights Council for 3 years, June 2016, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/226683/Egypt/Politics-/Egypt-wins-membership-in-UN-Human-Rights-Council-.aspx>.

Egyptian Diplomacy in Three Years after the June 30th Revolution:

The Egyptian government intensified its diplomatic efforts through its ministry of foreign affairs, therefore it started via the various official channels, represented in the Egyptian embassies abroad, to get in contact with executives and parliamentarians in the countries of accreditation, in orders to clarify the reality about the popular revolution that took place in Egypt to the outside world, and to respond, at the same moment, to the false allegations about it, as well as, correcting the erroneous image that the international media used to promote or show.

Moreover, the foreign ministry fortified its links with the media circles to achieve this target by writing articles in foreign newspapers, and making up interventions in the most important talk show that are aired in the major international news channels, besides maintaining continuous communication with the correspondents of foreign newspapers and channels in Egypt, and on top of this the shuttle visits done by the consecutive Egyptian foreign ministers during that period conveying the true image of what is happening in their country.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs played a major role in facilitating the visits of the public diplomacy delegations that went to a number of countries to clarify the facts about the situation in Egypt through communicating with various official and non-official circles in those countries. These persistent diplomatic efforts resulted in the change of the conservative positions of many countries and international organizations towards the 30th of June revolution. In that contest, it is worth to be mentioned that Egypt has returned to the African Union after its membership had been suspended in it after the ouster of president Morsi, while the United States retracted its stance concerning the cessation of military aid to Egypt.

Also, and at the same time, various capitals all over the world started to open its doors to Egyptian officials, especially, when they

realized the seriousness of the new government and Egyptian people in implementing the steps of the road map, which embraced, three main steps,. For instance, the adoption of one of the best Egyptian constitution ever, if compared to the previous ones, followed by the organization of presidential elections, then finally the convention of legislative elections, to complete the institutional structure of the country after the revolution. These steps managed to prove to everyone that it was a "real popular revolution" during which the majority of the Egyptian people decided to side with the revolution to defend democracy and national institutions, renouncing claims of discord and division and violence.

To wrap up, Egypt's foreign policy priorities during the current era will concentrate on two main elements. Firstly, reviving and boosting the institutions that play a central role in its formation, namely the intelligence and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially that they in contrast to the pre-January 2011 era, will now be increasingly influenced by Egyptian media and public opinion. And secondly, rebuilding its relations with the West and even with Africa, without ignoring the main focus of the Egyptian foreign policy which is consolidating the alliance with the Arab Gulf states, as they are the key to furthering Egypt's national interests in a number of fields not only the country's developmental needs.

Egypt under President Sisi appears to be much more active in the international arena compared to the last years of the Mubarak era while promoting different policies and alliances than those pursued by Morsi. The bilateral relations with the U.S. have not returned to full regularity or normality, yet Washington realizes the importance of Egypt for the region. on the other hand, After Sisi exchanged multiple visits with the Russian President, giving the impression that Egypt is ready to pursue a more independent and multilateral foreign policy, the U.S. resumed their

military aid and adopted a much more balanced tone towards the Egyptian government⁽⁵⁰⁷⁾.

Even though the Egyptian and American standpoints seem to converge on some issues as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the war in Yemen, but Cairo did not think twice to overtly advocate the Russian stance on the Syrian issue and to push its own agenda in Libya. After a short break down, during the Muslim Brotherhood rule, the Egyptian-GCC relations became even deeper than before, with the exception of Qatar, and the oil countries saved the Egyptian battered economy, regardless their difference over the Syrian crisis. Then again, Turkey and Qatar, even after the Saudi-led efforts to reconcile Cairo and Doha, remain the bitterest and toughest critics against President Sisi since they actively promote the rise of political Islam in the region⁽⁵⁰⁸⁾.

⁵⁰⁷ The White House, "Readout of the President's Call with President Al-Sisi of Egypt," (31/3/2015), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/03/31/readout-president-scall-president-al-sisi-egypt>.

⁵⁰⁸ The MENA Foreign Policy of Egypt under Sisi, Evangelos Diamantopoulos, Middle East Flashpoint, Centre for Mediterranean, Middle East & Islamic Studies, University of Peloponnese, No. 68, October 27th, 2015.

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions

In the aftermath of a precise examination of the Egyptian foreign policy after two consecutive revolutionary waves, the most important duty that can really occupy any new Egyptian regime is trying to build a new democratic; economically prosperous country, a way which, could get the country out of its economic crisis and support its internal stability. In this regard, the Egyptian state can maximize its benefits from its enormous resources as the unprecedented location in the heart of the world, the huge demographic and military power in region and on top the soft power with its cultural model that has always influenced the entire Arab world. These resources if used correctly Egypt could be a real power capable of confronting the regional challenges.

Regardless of the wars, isolations, and setbacks that the country has suffered throughout its history, no other state or power in the Arab or Middle East region has been able to take the lead of the region or fill the place of Egypt that has always been the leader for the region or a core country or else pivotal state. In this regard, it is worth to note that since the conclusion of the peace treaty with Israel in March 1979; Egypt has faced many rivals from its neighboring countries who wanted to replace its role in the region, or to become major regional powers as, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Qatar as well as Turkey and Iran.

Resorting all the Egyptian cultural, political, and social inheritance to create a role model in the light of the dramatic changes that had happened in the Egyptian character and society during the last years, especially after the two consecutive revolutions since the Arab spring in 2011 should always be the first priority of any Egyptian regime.

Thus, this model could be luxuriated to either build on it or develop it to reinforce the domestic policies that are considered the main pillar or backbone of the Egyptian foreign policy. In a few words, the revolutions that Egypt has witnessed could be positively used as a catalyst

for change and development of the country as the great Egyptian historian Gamal Hemdan has mentioned in his famous book the character of Egypt “evolution by revolution”.

The recent Egyptian revolutions represent a great momentum for the foreign policy system of a country gifted by its geographical location in the middle of the world between the three continents. Consequently, these revolutions could immensely contribute to the elimination or confiscating of the traditional traits that have always labeled the consecutive Egyptian regimes throughout the country's modern history since the establishment of the first republic and restricted to a certain extent their chances of maneuvering in respect to foreign policy.

In other words, consolidating Egypt's role and status in its region by building its capacity to protect its national interest and security, through using all its resources namely its hard, soft, and smart powers which means the ability to mix both soft and hard powers in the best way possible to achieve its targets. In this regard, the Egyptian state in the aftermath of the recent changes should work so hard to implement this strategy, through maximizing the use of the resources that Egypt has. Firstly, geography has always played an important role for Egypt as it is considered the secret of uniqueness of this country and source of power as it act as a conjuncture between three continents Africa, Asia and Europe which facilitates a wider range of geopolitical movement.

Secondly, the civilizational and cultural harmony of Egypt, which is considered one of the regional powers in the international system, if not the only power that is situated in homogenous geographical and cultural zone among mostly Arab countries who speak the same language which is the Arabic as well as taking the same religion which is Islam.

Whereas previous Egyptian regimes conducted foreign policy absent concern for public opinion, the current or any upcoming regimes must increasingly consider popular sentiment when formulating foreign

policy positions. In the post-revolution period, no Egyptian government can ignore the demands of an empowered population. In this regard, it could be argued that the consecutive revolutions have created a situation where the public opinion would pressure the decision-making process. Before the revolution, the margin of maneuver of the Egyptian authorities was much wider. Pressure now emanates from the media and people defending their demands. The Egyptian public who were emboldened by the revolution will remain a potent political force whose demands must be carefully taken into account.

Foreign policy in the present day is conducted as double-edged diplomacy. It is a two-way relationship between foreign policy and the domestic politics. In other words, internal developments affect the foreign affairs and vice versa. From this perspective, Egypt needs to include and ensure the public participation in establishing a new foreign policy discourse. This is crucial for a new and coherent vision simply because in the last decades there has been a sharp divide between the governing elite and the Arab streets in understanding and approaching the key foreign policy issues in the Middle East. Currently, the governing elite face a huge legitimacy crisis in the eyes of its public and therefore, most of the time use harsh measures to keep itself in power. That is why democratization waves did not have any influence in the Middle Eastern countries and Egypt.

Domestic issues are so important for the behavior of pivotal middle power that can define the scope of, or limit, its approach to any key issue in its region. Domestic stability of a pivotal middle power can be as influential as their economic and military power in their policies, projection and leadership role in their regions.

Egyptian popular revolutions that took place in the January 25th, 2011 and then on the 30th of June 2013, crafted a number of changes in society and politics in Egypt. These changes will withdraw necessarily - sooner or later- on Egypt's foreign policy orientation, practice and

organization, including increasing the chances of Egypt in the return of its regional role again for the exercise of its duties in its sphere of influence and its traditional circles as well as in other circles.

Certainly, the change that will be attached to Egypt's role will not be radical, as far as it will be pragmatic as the limitations in Egypt's regional role during the last decade was not related to its foreign policy orientation. However, these shortcomings namely involved the independence of the foreign policy decision, and the extent of the exercise of its role, as well as, the nature of the institutions that play this role.

In light of the fall of the former regimes after two revolutions, it is expected that the foreign policy will be characterized by some openness. Thus, the diplomatic engagement will take the primacy over other tools of policy making and implementation, in the redistribution of roles among the concerned foreign affairs institutions.

The independence of the Egyptian decision will be directly proportionate to the developmental democratic transformation. The most prominent factor that will keep the pressure on the independence of the Egyptian foreign policy decisions will be the economic pressure in the first place, given the disappearance of the variable of the legitimacy of the regime of the foreign policy equation, especially that the current regime enjoys a popular complacency in the equation of the Egyptian domestic arena.

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ANNEXES

ANNEXES

Annex I

Interview with His Excellency Ahmed Aboulgheit the former foreign minister of Egypt and the current secretary general of the league of Arab states (conducted in Arabic and then translated to English)

Q1: The anti-imperialist and the Egyptian rising power of Nasser's foreign policy vision, was it realistic in relation to its self-perception of resources, instruments and power?

A: I think that the Egyptian foreign policy after the 1952 revolution developed but before the regime was really able to really consolidate or firm up its power or control domestically, a matter that led for sure to some mistakes. The Egyptian leadership after the 23rd of July uprising was not able to either grasp or realize the true discrepancies and variances between this newly born leadership and the world powers at that time, and so Nasser's regime didn't work to establish ties and relations with these players.

President Nasser committed this serious error when he failed to secure his nation and new regime internally, in such a way that would enable him to formulate a successful foreign policy. In this context, it is worth mentioning that regardless of the reforms that he implemented to assist the poor and middle classes as much as possible, yet this really helped a lot in improving the economic and social status of the population, particularly the middle class. This middle class was not reinforced enough as it used to be over three decades before the 1952 revolution.

Nasser involved himself in an unnecessary war in Yemen in 1961 during which Cairo was spending about one million sterling; as well, he went through a miscalculated confrontation with Israel in 1967, which

ended with a weighty defeat not only for his army but also for the Nasserism with all the notions of pan- Arabism and anti - colonialism.

All these factors and reasons negatively affected Egypt and led to a gradual regression and relapse of its pivotal role the Middle East and Arab region that extended for many decades until these days.

Q2: After the decline of the Egyptian regional role, what was the impact of Sadat's pragmatic vision on the Egyptian foreign policy?

A: in my book "Eyewitness of War and Peace", I mentioned in the end of it that a big part of Egypt's importance during the 1950's and 1960's lies in its noteworthy role in fighting Israel, thus the Arab nations perceived Cairo as their leader. Moreover, Cairo's strategic weight increased during the period between the years 1955 and 1973, when the Soviet Union at the wanted to use Egypt in their ideological battle with the west and the United States. Therefore, all the parties realized the significance of the country including the Americans.

Yet, after the October 1973 victory over Tel-Aviv which was followed by the conclusion of the Egyptian –Israeli peace agreements the whole situation was completely altered with the boycott of the Arab countries to Egypt and its isolation in its traditional sphere of influence and its rapprochement with the United States and the west.

In my opinion, the Egyptian foreign policy failed to develop itself in accordance with the new variables as the Egyptian state was not able seize the chanced to play its role because of downfall of its soft power and the lack of any vision from the part of the leadership to improve and progress the country. Thus, Sadat's foreign also was not capable to trigger any change to the country a matter that lasted during the whole period of Mubarak.

Q3: Did Camp David peace agreements led to Egyptian isolation in the region, which weakened Mubarak's foreign policy?

A: From my opinion the I think that the former president Mubarak as an eyewitness of the 1967 defeat decided never again to drive or thrust his country anymore in any unbalanced and unnecessary battles that would be so costly for it. Hence, he chose not to re-do Nasser's tragedy again, and he made his decision to open up diplomatic relations with the most of the world's countries.

He added that Mubarak did not have a real ruling philosophy, as he did not put any effort in investing in the Egyptian citizen himself and his education, but he rather preferred to invest in other consumer sectors, as the communications for instance. This led to the accumulation of many problems as the slums and lack of awareness as well as the spread of the unemployment and the poverty, which were the main causes that contributed to the eruption of "the January outburst" or "the revolutionary condition or status" -according to his definition- that took place in Egypt in 2011.

Q4: Despite that, the foreign policy was not a priority for the January 25th revolution's demands, yet both presidents Morsi and his successor Al- Sisi mentioned previously that their foreign policy will witness a major re-orientation in its paths. How do you perceive this?

A: I think that The Egyptian foreign policy will never change either before or after the revolution, as this country has always been governed or determined by many factors and elements namely, geography, history and its geopolitics as well as its resources. Nonetheless, from their part the Muslim brotherhood when they came to power in Egypt in 2012, they were planning to plant their Islamic ideology not only on the foreign policy, but also, on the whole country's identity.

However, in my opinion this would not have been applicable on the real ground as it runs against with basic policies and nature of a country like Egypt. the country's future under the Islamic regime would have taken it back to the middle ages. On the other hand, the current president Al-Sisi understood quite well the international and regional variables, thus he will not pull Egypt to any uncalculated external adventures.

Egypt during Al-Sisi rule and after two consecutive revolutions in less than three years will seek to restore or regain its influence in the region by all necessary means. For instance, it can play a pivotal role in resolving the crisis in Libya as per the geographical proximity.

Q5: what strategy will president Sisi embrace as he attempts to return Egypt to a leading regional role? In addition, in the context of the new world order and the American strategic shift towards Asia pacific, which is creating a power vacuum in the Middle East region, how can the country face this challenge?

A: Egypt is a big country that has always played a leading role in the whole Arab and Middle East regions, yet it is facing many challenges and problems that would need quite a long time to be solve them. For instance, Cairo is passing through a critical economic situation, so it will have to reach certain compromises and deals with the Gulf countries to assist it to overcome this crisis.

On the other hand, Egypt is encountering a noteworthy threat that endangers the whole region which is the terrorist groups namely ISIS or Daesh, that became so close to its western borders, thus, Cairo will have to improve more its military capabilities to the extent that would enable it to defend its national security.

Then again, the Egyptian state after the June 30th revolution will have to work on two important tracks to rebuild itself properly through

enhancing its economic and military powers. In this context, the Egyptian society will have to reunite to face its crisis and challenge of limited resources that affect or hinder its capability to expand its expenditure. Thus, the current Egyptian government should work hard on restoring the foreign tourism back to the country and in the same moment to make good use of the new oil and natural gas explorations for the benefit of the country and its people.

Furthermore, there should be a new strict and legal way or method to perfectly manage the funds allocated for the subsidies of the poor classes to guarantee that these subsidies would reach those who are really in need for it.

On the other hand, the Egyptian state has to work hard to improve the efficacy of its media apparatus, a matter that could be easily done through, for instance, the establishment of a new satellite channel capable of addressing the international public opinion in several languages to project the real situation in Egypt.

Yet, this idea of course would be of a very high cost, as it will need around 150 million dollars per year, a matter that means that the Egyptian economy should be strong enough to provide the necessary funds for this channel.

In brief, the economy is the engine for the development of any nation in the world, if Egypt have had enough money and resources; our economic and political situation would have dramatically changed.

Egypt is an ancient country with a great civilization of more than 7000 years, a matter that should encourage any Egyptian government to improve the use of the soft power as it used to be in the past to restore back the leadership role of the country. Additionally, the issue of improvement the quality of life in the country after two consecutive

revolutions should be seriously, revised and tackled, by the current government, or any upcoming governments.

The External position is a reflection of the internal situation, and this was the real dilemma or problem that former president Mubarak faced for years. Then again, the new Egyptian foreign policy aftermath the revolutions should be a realistic policy motivated and prompted by the domestic public opinion, but in the meantime shouldn't be Impulsive and reckless.

The secretary general of the Arab league and the former minister added that there is also another important element or factor that would play an effective role in the formation of a new efficient Egyptian foreign policy which is the development of the ministry of foreign affairs. In this context, it is worth mentioning that the Egyptian diplomats should be trained very well to be able to play their roles or perform in such a way that help them to serve the interests of their country.

Thus, written clear assignments should be handed over to both the ambassadors and the young diplomats as well so when they are assigned to a certain task they are able to do it in a right way. In addition, the ministry of foreign affairs has to establish a unit or center to evaluate the performance of the Egyptian embassies abroad through the related or concerned assistant foreign minister and university professors as well as think tanks.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should also play a role or participate in conducting its own studies and researches alongside and in cooperation with the think tanks and research centers in Egypt and in the Arab world.

To conclude, I think when it comes to Egypt there is nothing that could be called a revolutionary foreign policy, which means that there will be no change in the Egyptian foreign policy after the revolutions because

this foreign policy has always been determined or controlled by certain aspects or determinates as mentioned before for instance geography, history and resources. For these reasons or factors the Egyptian foreign policy will not witness any dramatic changes after both January and June revolutions.

Q6: how the relations with the United States could be assessed in your opinion?

A: in my opinion the relationship with Washington under President Al-Sisi will continue to be in tension, yet cooperating with any American administration is a must especially in the security issues namely combatting ISIS (Daesh).

During the period of the Muslim brotherhood regime the ties with the united states seemed weird. In spite of their hatred to the Americans and the refusal to all its policies and orientations, yet the Muslim brotherhood were never able to reveal this extreme dislike, yet they opened the links with Washington which used them as the Muslim brotherhood used the religion to reach the power.

ANNEX II

Interview with his Excellency Minister Mohamed Al-Orabi the Former Egyptian Foreign Minister and the Current President of the External Relations Committee in the People's Assembly “the Egyptian parliament”. conducted in Arabic and then translated to English)

Q1: The anti-imperialist and the Egyptian rising power of Nasser's foreign policy vision, was it realistic in relation to its self-perception of resources, instruments and power?

A: firstly if we want to discuss this point then we have to have a deep look over the situation not only in the region but on the international arena at that point of time, especially with the establishment of a new country in the region, which is Israel in 1948, a matter which played an important role in the shaping of the Egyptian foreign policy during Nasser's era.

Moreover, the whole world at that period was totally polarized between two main camps the western under the leadership of the united states and the eastern under the leadership of the soviet union. For these reasons, the world and the region were dramatically different from what they look like now.

Additionally, being a military officer who led the revolution that toppled the king of Egypt in 1952, this also created a negative perception or image about Nasser in front of the whole world, a matter which produced or formed a status of doubt and lack of confidence that lasted over quite a long period of time. In brief, the entire context or environment at that era was totally different from what it is right now.

From his part Nasser managed or succeeded in making radical changes in the political life or scene in Egypt. For instance, the country under the monarchy used to embrace multiple or various political parties

and a well performing parliament. However, aftermath the arrival of Nasser on top of power in Egypt and the establishment of the first republic in 1954, he erased all traces of the old regime including the parliament and the parties.

Consequently, the country gradually started to turn to be a “centralized state”, that lacks a real political life a matter which certainly affected our foreign policy in a negative way. Then again came that key change in the Nasser’s foreign policy with his rapprochement towards the eastern camp led by the Soviet Union, especially after the conclusion of the Czech arms deal, a matter which worsened the relations with the western camp countries namely the United States and Europe.

All these factors could be easily used to evaluate and assess Nasser’s foreign policy in the aftermath of the 1952 revolution. This policy was characterized by hatred towards the west, a matter that deepened the worries and suspicions between them.

As for the Arab countries, Nasser managed to extend good relations with the Arab countries as he succeeded to gather them under the auspices of his notions of “nationalism” and “pan Arabism” which overwhelmed the whole Arab world during the fifties and sixties of the last century. Also, he had quite a strong influence on the African and Asian countries and he helped most of them to gain their independence at that period of time, a matter which mounted the worries and concerns of the west towards him as mentioned above.

Nasser’s foreign policy was mainly connected or related to his character and the surrounding environment and circumstances at that time. For instance, if another person had ruled Egypt during this era, its foreign policy would have taken another direction.

Yet, the charisma that Nasser possessed was not available for anybody during this epoch of time. In brief and in my opinion Nasser's foreign policy was realistic as Egypt is sum of history and geography.

In spite of that Nasser's regime committed some fatal mistakes and pushed his country into uncalculated adventures as the Yemen war which consumed a big amount of the resources of the country at that time, as well as the 1967 war against Israel that led to a heavy thrashing and the occupation of the Sinai peninsula. Hence, the whole middle east region aftermath this defeat witnessed major alterations and retraction back to extremism.

Q2: After the decline of the Egyptian regional role, what was the impact of Sadat's pragmatic vision on the Egyptian foreign policy?

A: in my thinking former president Sadat inherited a heavy burden when he came to power after the death of his predecessor Nasser. Hence, he succeeded with his high political talents and with proficiency to manage the foreign policy of the country during that critical period of time, especially with the historical and most dangerous decision in the modern history of Egypt of fighting against Israel in October 1973 to restore back his country's occupied land which ended with the victory over Israel, that opened the door to the signing of the peace agreement with Tel-Aviv.

Despite the lack of a similar charisma just like Nasser's, but he was intelligent enough to take Egypt out of the occupation crisis. Sadat was courageous enough to take the war decision which is considered the most difficult choice that any president can think about it. Moreover, the peace preference or pick also was very hard and difficult for him as it is still has its impact on Egypt maybe till this very recent moment. In this context, it is worth mentioning that until now some countries as well as a part of the Egyptian society itself still against or not totally convinced with the peace with Israel.

To conclude the foreign policy during Sadat era was utterly geared to serve the peace and war issues at that time, he decided to take the hard path which made him lose the majority of the Arab countries and its consequences of the expulsion from the Arab league, however on the other hand he gained the relations with the west and especially the united states, thus there was no real approach or manner to make breaks and intervals between the gains and the losses during this very critical moment in the history of the country.

Q3: Did Camp David peace agreements led to Egyptian isolation in the region, which weakened Mubarak's foreign policy?

In my opinion it didn't really have a big impact or influence as expected, because I think that the Arab countries felt strange and threatened without Egypt, and also because at that time Cairo had a very huge momentum in its relations with west, a matter which the Arab states wanted to take advantage of in the same time to improve their relations with the west. As a result, the reconciliation with Egypt took place after Mubarak came to power and it was a very important step that he decided to take also from his side.

The situation in the whole region was really complicated during the eighties at the beginning of Mubarak's rule, especially with the emergence of other regional powers and rivals namely turkey and Iran. Hence, I think that the Mubarak's foreign policy was not a failure as described by some people, because the country at that period of time was economically exhausted and as a consequence it was very hard to restore back its role in the region.

During Mubarak's era and owing to the stressing economic situation, the foreign policy was more oriented towards reinforcing ties with states that could assist his country economically and financially to get

out of its crisis on the expense of strengthening the political relations with these countries or the others that will not help Egypt to overcome the critical moments.

Q4: Despite that, the foreign policy was not a priority for the January 25th revolution's demands, yet both presidents Morsi and his successor Al- Sisi mentioned previously that their foreign policy will witness a major re-orientation in its paths. How do you perceive this?

A: the foreign policy was not a priority for the demonstrators during the January 25th revolution, as the internal issues dominated their demands, not only but these domestic causes were the main reasons behind the eruption of this revolution, therefore there was a real consensus about it. From his part president Morsi wanted to consolidate and strengthen his legitimacy as well as the Muslim brotherhood rule in the country in front of the whole world, for this reason the foreign policy was an important issue for him.

The west was happy and satisfied with Morsi's rule and helped him to consolidate this legitimacy, and the Muslim brotherhood themselves used the foreign policy to export the idea that Morsi could be an Egyptian Muslim leader who would control tightly the Muslim world, yet they didn't have a real vision or strategy for the foreign policy.

In brief, the one year rule of the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt could be considered as a period of a struggle to consolidate and solidify their legitimacy in the country. Moreover, this trial in my opinion was a total failure as it was not institutionalized because it was limited only to the movements of Essam Al- Haddad the councilor of the president for the foreign relations.

The president councilor started to extend ties with a number of the pivotal world countries for instance, the United States and Germany, away from the ministry of foreign affairs only through his office and his

assistants, as well they worked hard to promote for the Muslim Brotherhood rule in the country in this manner.

Q5: what strategy will president Sisi embrace as he attempts to return Egypt to a leading regional role? In addition, in the context of the new world order and the American strategic shift towards Asia pacific, which is creating a power vacuum in the Middle East region, how can the country face this challenge?

A: in my point of view I think it is still too early to assess or judge the situation in Egypt or how it will go especially after two major revolutionary events, as the country now is still in a period of arranging the house from inside. Yet, until now president Abdel Fattah Al-sisi managed or succeeded to open new strategic axes that would allow him to balance the country's relations with the different world powers.

In this context, he is trying to maintain equilibrium Egypt's relations with the Western powers namely the United States and European union from one side and the relations with other powers as china and Russia. It cannot be denied that this trend or approach has always been found in the Egyptian foreign policy especially in the last 30 years. Nowadays, for example the country is trying to diversify the sources of its armament through purchasing arms from Russia and France again after a long period of stoppage during Mubarak's era, who depended mostly on the American armament.

Q6: how the relations with Iran and the United States could be assessed in your opinion?

A: as for the relations with Iran, I think it is not going to be improved or consolidated in the near future, and the old trend that has been taken during Mubarak will continue, because the Egyptian regime of Al- Sisi will still put its relations with the Arab countries of the gulf as a priority over the deployment of relations or ties with the Iranian regime.

On the other hand, and as for the relations with the united states, I think I will remain as “love and hate relationship”. From its part Washington thought that the Islamic current would dominate the whole region and they considered Tunisia as an “inclusive model”, but this did not happen with Egypt.

ANNEX III

An Interview with his Excellency the current Egyptian Foreign Minister Sameh Shoukry, this interview was published on the blog of the ministry of affairs. It was conducted by Al-Ahram newspaper, December 19th, 2015, and translated by the office of the spokesperson of the ministry.

Q: Foreign Minister Sameh Shoukry.... we are approaching the end of 2015 and all the external challenges it held for Egypt... regionally and internationally.... Overall, are you satisfied with the performance of Egyptian foreign policy during 2015?

A: In general, I can say that there is satisfaction with Egypt's ability to meet the many foreign policy challenges it faced over the past year. The challenges were formidable and multi-dimensional, and many of them were directly linked to Egypt's national security.

There is no doubt that facing these challenges required the confrontation of a number of internal challenges as an initial step, given that foreign policy and its ability to achieve its objectives is directly related to the internal situation of the country. In my assessment, internal achievements – in terms of the fight against terrorism, the start of the implementation of major economic and investment projects, and the successful completion of the internal constitutional framework and the political roadmap with its different stages – have greatly contributed towards strengthening Egypt's ability to confront external challenges and achieve its foreign policy goals over the past year. This has certainly required considerable diplomatic effort to inform the international community of the reality of the situation in Egypt and the size of the challenges confronting the Egyptian state. Diplomatic efforts were necessary to explain each stage of the political roadmap and to mobilize international support for Egypt, both bilaterally and within the framework of various international organizations.

Q: In your view, what are the most important challenges Egypt faced externally in 2015?

A: The biggest challenge has been the extent of Egypt's ability to navigate the storm the Middle East is passing through and to maintain internal cohesion and stability. Amidst this storm, proceeding at a steady pace on the path to economic and social development, while simultaneously enhancing Egypt's political, economic and security infrastructure was the main challenge.

Numerous factors contributed to instability in the region in 2015. These included turmoil in Egypt's direct geographical vicinity, such as in Libya, Gaza (particularly control of the border with Gaza and its impact on stability in the Sinai), the political crisis in South Sudan, the continued instability in the Horn of Africa and Somalia, the escalation of terrorism in Africa's Sahel region, and challenges to the security of the Red Sea. If we add to this the security and existential challenges facing the Middle East, whether in Syria, Yemen or Iraq, we will find ourselves facing immense challenges that Egypt was able to confront. This allowed us to maintain cohesion, steadfastness, and stability while continuing to effectively contribute to addressing these crises by offering practical and realistic solutions.

Q: From the perspective of Minister Sameh Shoukry.... What were the most important Egyptian diplomatic achievements over the past year?

A: The word "achievements" is not the most accurate terms to evaluate the performance of Egypt's foreign policy over a year. Perhaps it is more suitable to say "reviewing what has been achieved towards the realization of national goals." This allows for a more accurate and objective assessment of the extent to which Egypt was able to achieve its foreign policy goals over the past year.

To begin with, I would like to point out that President Sisi's "Summit Diplomacy" and his numerous visits throughout the past year have paid off. The diversity of these visits, and the President's direct communication with other world leaders, show Egypt's desire to open up to the world. Along with my visits to Africa, Europe, Asia, the United States and South America, these Presidential visits clearly indicate that Egypt has been able to set the foundations for solid and diversified foreign relations in 2015.

Through such efforts, Egypt was able to build bridges for strategic relations with a number of countries, such as Russia and China, in addition to enhancing bilateral relations with Ethiopia (which have witnessed a significant transformation since President Sisi made a historic visit to the country), as well as relations with the Sudan. Moreover, in the context of Egyptian-US relations, 2015 witnessed the resumption of the strategic dialogue between the two countries. This is not to mention relations with Europe and the resumption of the technical committees established under the Egyptian-European Partnership Agreement.

Another milestone for Egyptian diplomacy in 2015 has been Egypt's success at promoting the issue of combating terrorism to the top of the international community's list of priorities. The numerous terrorist incidents witnessed in the region throughout the past period attest to the soundness and accuracy of Egypt's vision; we have consistently placed utmost importance on fighting terrorism, and not distinguishing between terrorist groups, or terrorism taking place in one country as opposed to another. Egypt also placed utmost priority on fighting extremist and radical ideas throughout the different stages in which they are propagated, from their very formulation, through to their dissemination, and finally to the recruitment of extremist elements.

In addition, Egypt has consistently emphasized the need to dry up sources of terrorist financing, increase border control, combat illegal immigration and border infiltration and counter illicit trafficking in

arms. I believe that that we have successfully placed all of these issues at the top of the international community's agenda.

Egypt's election to a non-permanent seat in the UN Security Council, with wide support from the General Assembly, is one of the most important achievements of Egyptian diplomacy in 2015. It reflected the international community's support for Egypt and its trust in Egypt's ability to assume its responsibilities in the area of international peace and security as well as to promote African, Arab and third world causes inside the Council. Another accomplishment is Egypt's recent selection to head three specialized committees in the Security Council, namely the Counter-Terrorism Committee and the UN Sanctions Committees Concerning the Democratic Republic of Congo and Iraq. There is no doubt that this required tremendous diplomatic efforts by Egypt's embassies overseas, as well as the Foreign Ministry and the Egyptian state as a whole. This ultimately led to Egypt being able to garner the huge support it received in these international fora.

Q: How do you perceive Egypt's ability to maintain the balance between its relations with the United States and Russia, especially in light of an increasingly polarized world?

A: Egypt's foreign policy is not based on the idea of axes and alliances. It is a balanced policy that is open to all and seeks to benefit from the comparative advantage of each and every party and international partner. It is based on the principle of strategic partnerships with the countries that have special ties with Egypt.

A: The positive and notable development of Egyptian-Russian relations over the past year does not come at the expense of Egypt's strategic relations with the United States. This has been proven in a multitude of ways, whether through convening the strategic dialogue between Egypt and the US, after being on hold for five years, or through measures taken by the American side to lift previous limitations on military aid to Egypt.

Thus, we are talking about a foreign policy methodology based on communication, and an understanding of how Egypt can best achieve its interests through its foreign relations. This is pursued through a holistic approach that maintains the dignity of both Egypt and its citizens while protecting Egypt's national security.

Q: How do you evaluate the strategic dialogue with the US?

A: The strategic dialogue is based on a number of dimensions, some of which relate to bilateral relations in their different aspects, while others relate to regional issues and challenges that require coordination and consultation between different countries. Finally, some dimensions focus on multi-lateral relations within the framework of relevant international organizations.

When it comes to the bilateral dimension of the Egypt-US Strategic Dialogue, we can say that there has been progress in the military, economic and development fields. There is also communication between the two sides on matters related to democratic transition and freedoms, which are strongly linked to increasing awareness by the US of the dangers and challenges Egypt currently faces. There is no doubt that reaching this stage was the result of huge efforts on Egypt's part in its communication with the US administration and different US policy-making circles to clarify the internal situation and challenges.

There has also been notable progress in the regional dimension. The past period witnessed intensified communication at the foreign ministers' level, as well as visits by the US Congress. This all reflects that the US realizes that Egypt is a true partner in the region – a partner whose assessments it needs, regarding crises in the region. The US takes into

account Egypt's vision and assessment of the situation in Libya, as Egypt is a neighboring country that is directly involved in the situation there. The US also makes sure to maintain close coordination on the Palestinian issue, due to the communication channels Egypt possesses with different Palestinian parties as well as with Israel. This is not to mention Egypt's ability to present new ideas, long-term solutions and a serious and realistic vision for the future to activate the peace process.

The same applies to the crises in Syria, Iraq and Yemen, especially with regard to having a strategic vision towards Arab national security and how best to consolidate and safeguard it. Egypt addresses these challenges from a long-term and comprehensive perspective, and not from a narrow view that seeks to achieve parochial, short-term interests. Egypt's perspective is comprehensive and seeks to safeguard the security of the region, its stability and its ability to meet the aspirations of its people during the coming years.

Q: With Egypt having taken its first step towards joining the world's nuclear club, how do you view the Middle East as a region free of nuclear weapons? Also, how do you perceive concerns regarding dangerous material potentially falling into the hands of extremist groups in Syria and Libya?

A: Egypt's position on nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction (WMD's) in the Middle East, and the threat they pose to Egypt's national security is clear and unchanging. Egypt has consistently led efforts to establish a nuclear-weapons-free Middle East. This policy was manifested in the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), held in May 2015. During this conference Egypt proposed its vision as to how to implement the 1995 NPT Review Conference Middle East resolution [on establishing a weapons of mass destruction free-zone in the Middle East], so as to prevent the spread of WMD's in the region.

Egypt has also continuously called for the universality of the NPT. This is in addition to its active role in the issue of combating terrorism and confronting the dangers of weapons of mass destruction falling into the irresponsible hands of terrorists, who view the whole of humanity as their enemies. In this realm, the dangers increase exponentially. It is for this reason that we constantly reiterate our position regarding the need to prevent dangerous weapons and materials from reaching terrorists, including through increased border control, as well as the importance of adhering to adequate safety standards in established facilities. All these issues are interrelated.

As for Egypt's peaceful nuclear program, we are talking about a different matter altogether. Egypt seeks a peaceful program for the production of electricity that can be used to power development projects, particularly since nuclear and renewable energy are clean, low cost and produce low pollution. This represents a qualitative change that reflects Egypt's determination to achieve sustainable development and implement the newest technologies. Egypt is committed to benefiting from the best international experts in this field and is set on carrying out this program at the lowest cost and the highest standards of nuclear safety. Egypt made sure that this was explicitly included in the agreement signed with Russia.

Q: What about Iran? How do you see Egypt's interaction with Iran?

A: Egypt has clearly stated that its assessment of the Iran nuclear deal will depend on the extent to which the deal contributes towards the goal of a nuclear-weapons-free Middle East and the extent to which it can influence Iran's position towards the region and its countries. If the deal achieves these two goals, then Egypt will appreciate its importance.

This matter requires close technical follow up by the International Atomic Energy Agency and the countries signatory to the Iran nuclear deal. It also requires that Arab and Gulf countries follow up on Iran's policies to

determine whether they have witnessed a positive transformation or still remain dubious.

Q: In light of Egypt's chairmanship of the Arab Summit.. what is your vision for inter-Arab relations and how to consolidate regional action, particularly since most problems in the region are a result of inconsistency in Arab policies?

A: One must look at inter-Arab relations realistically. The Arab region is filled with crises and challenges that threaten the very existence of some states. Since current circumstances are exceptional, they must be addressed in a manner that is equally exceptional, rather than the traditional approach to the issue.

This was President Sisi's approach from the outset, since he proposed the initiative of establishing a Joint Arab Force, through to his close engagement with the regional centers of power such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, and his communication with Jordan. There is a strategic vision in place that aims to awaken the region to face up to the grave challenges we face.

Egypt's vision is that, as individual states, we will not be able to overcome these challenges, which include terrorism, state failure, armed conflicts, foreign interventions, designs and interests in the region, as well as humanitarian disasters including the refugee and IDP crisis. Such challenges cannot be confronted by any single state alone; however, we must work on coordinating our policies in order to benefit from each state's unique capabilities and comparative advantage. This is what Egypt hopes we can achieve and that the region will focus on in the upcoming period. of course, we expect the Arab League to play an important role in this regard.

Q: In light of this, how does Egypt view the Turkish invasion of Iraq?

A: Egypt refuses and condemns outright any foreign intervention in the affairs of Arab states or infringement of their sovereignty. Iraq is a pivotal state in the Middle East; the preservation of its sovereignty is essential.

The challenge that we face as Arab States is how to act in solidarity against these interventions, which take place under different pretexts. We are in need of a strong and unified Arab stance, and a vision for the future that can envisage what the region will look like in 10 years. We must set our priorities in moving forward, build on our strengths and address our problems and challenges. This requires a long-term vision and enhanced coordination between Arab countries.

Q: The events in Jerusalem are a negative development in the year 2015. How does Egypt believe this matter should be addressed in 2016?

A: In 2015, Egypt's approach to the Palestinian question has developed substantially. Egypt has adopted a vision that calls for the final settlement of this conflict; we are not prepared to entertain any proposal or idea that does not aim for a final settlement, on the basis of international law and the two-state solution. What is required is to see the end goal and aim for it, within an agreed time-frame. We are beyond wasting time on procedural matters and discussions with no objective. It is no longer acceptable for an entire people to live under occupation in the 21st century. It is also no longer tolerable to accept the daily infringements against a whole nation's heritage. We are now focused on a few specific points: how to afford protection for the Palestinian people, how to reach a real truce on the ground, how to take specific measures towards confidence building that will launch an actual peace process, leading to a lasting peace with a clear objective in sight. A number of confidence-building steps must be taken, including: first, an end to all settlement activity that is swallowing up Palestinian lands day-in-day-out, in a manner that threatens to leave no land to negotiate on. Secondly, an end to the daily escalation that helps to fuel anger and a thirst for revenge.

Finally, there needs to be a serious approach from the United States, supported by other global powers in order to put in place the cornerstones for meaningful and effective negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

Q: There are signs of a breakthrough in negotiations on Syria. The Syrian opposition has met in Riyadh to unify their positions. There are increased talks of the possibility of a Syrian/Syrian dialogue at the beginning of the new year. How does Egypt see the chances of a settlement, after years of devastation for the Syrian people?

A: In 2015, the Syrian situation was, indeed, catastrophic. The Syrian crisis was exacerbated in all its aspects, particularly the humanitarian suffering of the Syrian people and Syrian refugees. This was a warning sign for us all that it was no longer possible for the international community to bear this humanitarian crisis any longer.

The Egyptian position on this matter has had clear goals and objectives from the start, namely the following: first, the importance of putting an end to the suffering of the Syrian people; second, finding a political, rather than military solution to the crisis; third, counter-terrorism efforts must progress hand in hand with the political settlement; fourth, the importance of preserving the Syrian state and preventing its collapse and finally, the need to make the Geneva I Communiqué the basis of any dialogue between the Syrian parties. Egypt has remained committed to this position from the beginning and has maintained it despite the changing circumstances. Hence Egypt has supported UN envoy de Mistura and has hosted Syrian opposition conferences that ended with the issuing of a national charter and a road map to implement the Geneva Communiqué.

Egypt has also taken part in the meetings in Vienna and New York and has supported all anti-terrorism efforts in Syria. We hope to see a real breakthrough in Syria in 2016 that leads to Syria's transition to a

new phase that achieves the aspirations and hopes of the Syrian people to live in peace and prosperity.

Q: With respect to confronting terrorism, there are also signs that France is preparing a military strike in Libya. How do you see developments on the Libyan front?

A: The Egyptian position on Libya is a very cautious one as the challenge for Egypt there is huge, given the possibility of a complete collapse of the situation and the spread of terrorism, due to the lack of a central government. For these reasons, from the very start of the crisis in Libya, Egypt has been one of the most affected countries.

Egypt is therefore heavily invested in the Libyan case and has, from the start, supported the UN envoy and his role in hosting the dialogue between various Libyan parties. Egypt also participated closely in all rounds of dialogue between Libyan parties, in order to offer support to our Libyan brothers and the UN envoy, and sponsored a number of meetings of Libyan tribes. This is part of an overarching effort that aims to have Libyans overcome their internal differences and rise above their different affiliations; to put the Libyan nation first and foremost. We hope that in the coming days the Libyans can form a national unity government. This would be the starting point to move forward on the correct path.

As for the French moves, the growing threat of terrorism in Libya caused by instability there, and the recent horrific acts of terror that have affected everyone, mean that it is no longer possible to confront terrorism with leniency. We will find more and more attention from global powers that want to combat terrorism in Libya, but the most important matter now is the formation of the national unity government.

Q: You have just come back from the six-party talks in Khartoum for the Foreign and Irrigation Ministers of Egypt, Ethiopia and the Sudan. The Egyptian people are increasingly worried about the fate of the talks on the

Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) and its potential effects on Egypt's water resources from the Nile. What is your assessment, since you have been a main party in these talks from the very beginning?

A: To begin with, it is important for us to realize the strategic nature of the relationship between Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia. Any assessment of the challenges these relations face must be based on a complete understanding that the three states have true common interests that they seek to achieve and preserve through cooperation. In Egypt's quest to achieve these interests, it is keen to avoid any harm to any other party. There is no doubt that there is a legacy of negative Egyptian-Ethiopian relations. Both parties agree that this is based on years of lack of communication and relying on negative perceptions of the other, although the River Nile has, and will continue to, tie the destinies of these two states together.

The GERD is among various issues that represent an important challenge to relations between these three states, as it directly affects the interests of all three parties. Ethiopia wants to generate energy from its Blue Nile resources, while Sudan would like to benefit in terms of its agriculture from a regulated water flow as a result of the dam's construction. Egypt also has legitimate fears regarding the dam's potential effects on its uses of the Nile waters. For these reasons, the three states agreed to enter into a negotiating mechanism known as the Tripartite Committee, which aims to prepare the studies recommended by the International Panel of Experts, to assess the real effects of the dam on the two downstream States (Egypt and the Sudan). These studies pertain to the potential effects on water resources, the economy and the environment, and include proposals to avoid harm.

What I would like to say clearly is that the specific effects of the dam and how to avoid them cannot be apparent unless the required studies are concluded, and their results used as a benchmark to reach a permanent and lasting agreement between the three states on the optimum mechanism for the dam's filling, operation and reservoir capacity.

We also must not forget that the three states, with direct orders from their political leadership, successfully reached an important declaration of principles last March in Khartoum. This agreement is the first legal instrument on cooperation to be concluded by all three states regarding the issue of the Nile waters. The real importance of this is that it is a new and unique practice of cooperation regarding the operation of a dam in one state in coordination with dams in other states, in order to guarantee the utmost benefit to all states involved and to avoid harm to any of them. In other words, there is an interest for all three parties involved to make this experience succeed, as a model for cooperation in an international river as important as the Nile. Such cooperation can lead to mutual benefits and can transform a river into a source of cooperation rather than tension.

With regard to the current negotiations, there is no doubt that we are currently at a cross roads. The technical side has been delayed due to the inability to choose a consultancy firm that will undertake the studies. This is because the two firms initially chosen failed to agree on how to work together. This is a matter that has required the three states to sit down once again in order to agree on certain issues and other firms to be used in order to come up with the requested studies. This is not an easy matter as the way in which both the French and Dutch firms were chosen was a complicated and time consuming process, which took into consideration many technical details. Repeating this process would consume much time.

Simultaneously, the construction of the dam is proceeding on the ground. It is therefore important to reiterate the provisions of the declaration of principles and the time-frame it put in place, to guarantee that after finalizing the required studies the three states will be able to reach clear rules on operating the dam and filling up its reservoir in a manner that preserves their mutual interests, as well as implementing all the study's recommendations and conclusions.

In conclusion, I would like to affirm that we are in the midst of a very complex and exacting cooperative process and that all those involved must be patient. Egyptian citizens must trust in the capacity of their state and negotiators to protect their water rights. Under no circumstance can any Egyptian official compromise Egypt's water security.

Q: What about Egypt's Work Agenda in the Security Council for the year 2016?

A: Egypt's membership of the Security Council marks a new phase whereby Egypt is considered a partner in the maintenance of international peace and security, and not just responsible for protecting its own interests. This means that Egypt has become a partner among 15 states that carry the burden of the preserving peace and security at the international level. National interests cannot be the only force that moves Egypt in the Security Council. Our priorities are definitely Egypt's interests as well as maintaining peace and security in the Middle East and Africa, and supporting conflict resolution in the Middle East.

Egyptian society and public opinion should view Egypt's role from the perspective of the responsibility placed on it as an international partner entrusted with maintaining international peace and security. There is no doubt that our priorities are Arab and African issues, combating terrorism and the Palestinian cause. Egypt prioritizes all these issues, as we will play an important role in developing the Security Council's approach to them, in light of our role as a state affected by these issues and challenges.

There is also big opportunity for us to enhance our relations with other countries in our regions, whose interests we will be representing. There will definitely be opportunities for closer cooperation with our African brothers, especially when it comes to promoting African issues in the Council. The same applies to Arab issues, seeing as we are the only Arab state in the council at the present time. We will carry the

responsibility of the situations in Syria, Libya, Iraq and Yemen, as well as combating terrorism. We will talk about all of these issues and will adopt progressive positions in this regard. We will communicate our thoughts and concerns to the members of the Council and the Council will be keen to hear our assessment, seeing that we are part of the region and we know how to take on these challenges and how to resolve them.